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ABSTRACT

This report provides abridged versions of participants' statements, panel discussions, and lectures given at the International Seminar on Childhood, Culture and Community held at Haifa, Israel, from June 17 to June 27, 1979. The interrelationship between childhood, culture, and community was the topic of the introductory lecture. Basic needs that determine the course of children's development, the impact of cultural differences on children, and models of community development were considered in the subsequent panel discussion. Presentations in plenary sessions focused on (1) a humanistic perspective for early childhood education; (2) basic needs of children; (3) juvenile delinquency; (4) educational programs for disadvantaged and gifted students; (5) rights of children; (6) studies of children growing up in Singapore, Colombia, Kenya and Israel; (7) the impact of culture on the growth of the child; (8) early childhood education in Israel; (9) home instruction in Israel for preschool youngsters; (10) services for the protection of children and youth in Guatemala; and (11) Israeli laws dealing with rights and benefits of children and youth. Also included in the report are general statements approved by the full assembly of participants, summary statements of views, recommendations and conclusions developed during the seminar, and related materials. (Author/RH)

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International Seminar on Childhood, Culture and Community

17-27 June, 1979

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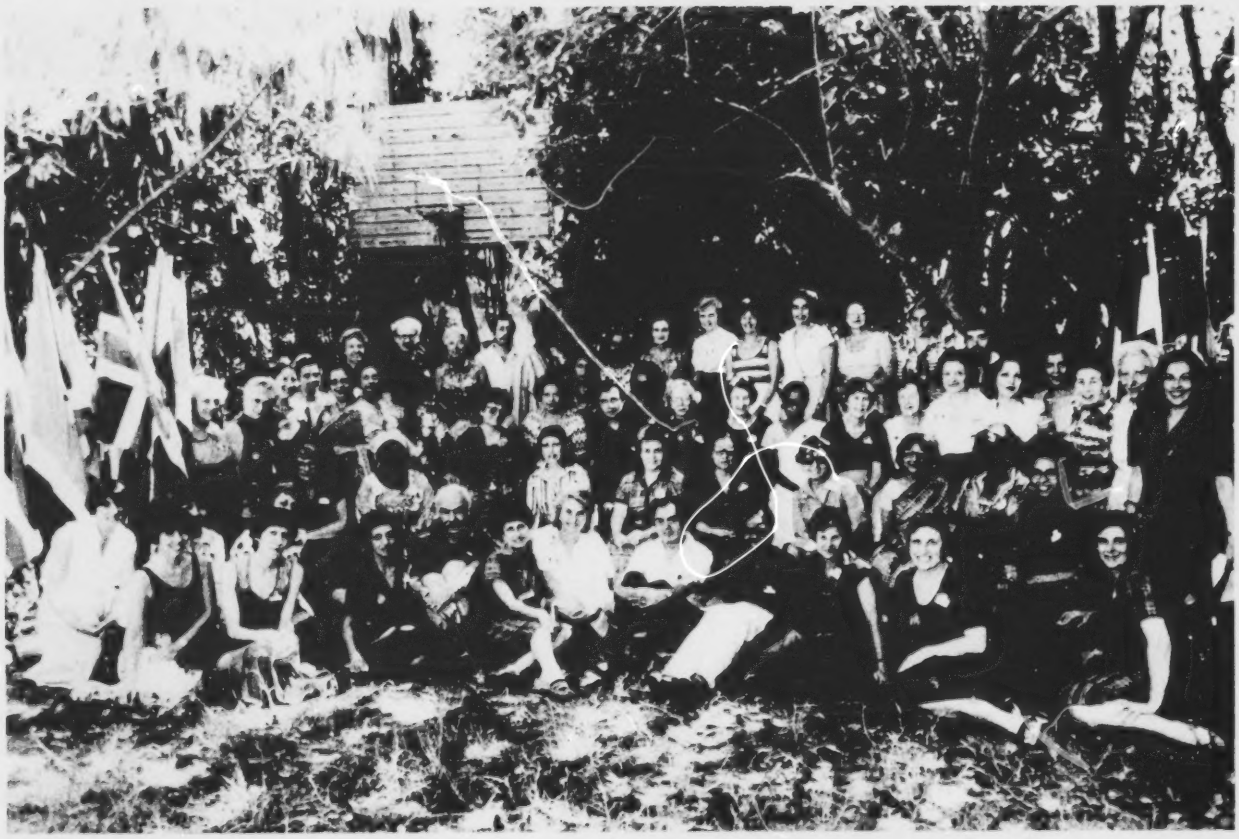
MOUNT CARMEL INTERNATIONAL TRAINING CENTRE (MCTC)
in cooperation with
THE ISRAEL NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR UNICEF

THIS SEMINAR was sponsored by:

The Israel Association for International Cooperation
The Swedish-Haifa Committee
The Soroptimist International of Europe

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

is due to the experts, institutes and the communities that contributed to the success of the seminar.



Seminar Participants and Staff

M. C. T. C.

The President's House
Jerusalem

Greetings to the participants by Mrs. Ofira Navon,
wife of the President of the State of Israel.

Dear Friends,

My role as Patron of the International Year of the Child in Israel is one which I view with love and with a certain temerity, because of the importance I attach to every undertaking which concerns children and their future.

It therefore gives me great pleasure to welcome you, the participants in this Seminar, as I feel you are kindred spirits in all our efforts on behalf of children.

I look forward to welcoming you personally at the Residence in Jerusalem, and wish you a fruitful Seminar.

Ofira Navon

Jerusalem, 17th June, 1979.

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F O R E W O R D

The Seminar on Childhood, Culture and Community, planned and organised jointly by the Mount Carmel International Training Centre and the Israel National Committee for UNICEF, was devoted to an examination of some of the issues that were given priority in the year-long, world wide programmes of the International Year of the Child.

The guiding principle in the discussions was that the child's condition and his future development must be viewed in the context of the culture and community in which he lives, in the context of its values, attitudes and goals.

The Seminar's objectives were:

to increase knowledge and understanding of the child

to focus attention more sharply on the conditions and the rightful place of the child as a member of society today, and as its citizen tomorrow

to exchange knowledge and information about existing services and programmes for the development and well-being of children and youth in various countries

to exchange ideas for future action towards fulfilment of the needs of children and youth, and safeguarding their rights

to examine existing national and international policies concerned with children and youth, and discuss further proposals

to suggest priorities in allocation of resources and adoption of strategies for practical implementation.

This conference was an outstanding event in the agenda of MCTC which had enlarged and intensified its early childhood education training programmes prior to, and during the International Year of the Child.

Another MCTC contribution in 1979 was its publication of a Handbook on Early Childhood Education. This book, compiled and written by a member of the Centre's staff, was based on the Israel experience and incorporated the information and viewpoints gathered from many developing countries over a period of almost twenty years.

P R O C E D U R E

All lectures, discussions and workshop sessions took place at the Mount Carmel International Training Centre in Haifa. The working languages were English and Spanish, with simultaneous translation. The proceedings of the plenary sessions were recorded.

In the sessions dedicated to the major topics of the seminar, deliberations opened with an introductory lecture, and were followed by participants' statements and discussion. Further discussions were held in four task-oriented workshops - three in English, one in Spanish.

The interchange of ideas, experiences and the flow of information that occurred throughout the seminar was augmented by the expertise of resource persons, who joined the plenary sessions and the workshops.

In addition, three full days and several evenings were devoted to study visits at institutions, and in diverse communities in the vicinity of Haifa and Jerusalem.

In the organisational phase of the seminar questionnaires had been sent to prospective participants, enquiring about services, programmes and legislation for children and youth in their respective communities, and about prevailing attitudes and opinions that related to the central issues of the seminar. They were invited to express their personal views of current child and youth programmes and activities, and their suggestions for future action.

The replies of the respondents were compiled, analysed and evaluated by Dr. Geulah Solomon, of Australia, in her Background Paper which was presented at the initial plenary session. This Paper was distributed to the participants.

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The Report

A few weeks after the seminar, MCTC published a summary of conclusions and recommendations that emerged from the workshop studies and that were examined exhaustively at a plenary session before adoption.

The final report must be seen as a necessarily condensed and abridged version of the introductory lectures, discussions and conclusions which had engrossed the seminar throughout the ten days of its deliberations.

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OPENING SESSION

A distinguished gathering assembled for the formal opening of the International Seminar on Childhood, Culture and Community, which took place at the University of Haifa on June 17th, 1979.

In addition to the participants from 35 developing and industrial countries, there were members of the Diplomatic Corps; representatives of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Israel Association for International Cooperation, educational and other public institutions, the Municipality of Haifa; and friends of the Mount Carmel International Training Centre.

MINA BEN-ZVI, Director of the Mount Carmel International Training Centre, greeted the guests, and introduced the speakers of the evening.

"I wish to welcome you all with our traditional blessing 'Bruhim Habaim', and extend a special welcome to our guests who have come from the four corners of the world, to exchange ideas, share experiences of what can and must be done so that the child of today will be a happier citizen in the future, and live in a better world.

We have participants from the African countries: our friends from Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Swaziland; from Asia: India, Nepal, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand; from the Americas: Barbados, Brazil, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico and the United States; and one from Australia.

A hearty greeting to all those who arrived from Europe and the Mediterranean region: Austria, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, and, of course, our participants from Israel."

Mrs. Ben-Zvi noted that among the participants there were representatives of national and international organisations, citing the Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM), the Programme Officer of UNICEF in East India, a representative of OMEP - World Organisation of Preschool Education - and 15 members of the Soroptimist International Unions from 13 countries of Europe and Africa, all of them involved in activities devoted to the International Year of the Child.

She explained that it has become the tradition of the Mount Carmel Centre to convene biennial seminars to deal with problems or topics of common concern to the developing and to the industrial countries.

"For this year, which is dedicated throughout the world to intensified efforts towards the well-being of children and youth, the seminar organisers — the Mount Carmel International Training Centre in cooperation with Israel's National Committee for UNICEF — selected the theme of

'Childhood, Culture and Community', in order to focus on, and examine the specific aspects that affect the development of the young in relation to their culture and the community in which they live.

We are grateful to the sponsors, who made it possible for us to convene this seminar: the Israel Association for International Cooperation, the Swedish-Haifa Committee, and the Soroptimist International of Europe. I also wish to thank the President of the University of Haifa for the continued assistance rendered to our Centre by the University's academic and administrative staff."

* * *

A very spirited welcome at the beginning of the Opening Ceremony was given by the Haifa Municipal Youth Orchestra that played several selections.

* * *

ZENA HARMAN, Chairman of the Israel National Committee for UNICEF, conveyed the greetings of the Committee, and spoke of the significance, goals and achievements of UNICEF.

"The crucial importance of the welfare of children for society as a whole, is universally recognised. UNICEF is perhaps the only Agency in the UN family which consistently receives unanimous acclamation; it is the one organisation which is free of partisan politics.

All are agreed that mankind owes the child the best it has to give, yet there still remains a sizeable gap between recognition and understanding of the problems, and commitment to viable solutions. Rhetoric and the formulation of needs are not often enough translated into policy priorities, adequate budgets, or the necessary infrastructure for effective implementation and delivery of services. After more than 30 years of dedicated work, UNICEF's achievements are impressive, when measured in increased government action, more professionalism, and improved standards.

The importance of including children within integrated social and economic planning processes is now more fully recognised - but however helpful and supportive government policies and assistance programmes may be, the ultimate measure of success is to be found in the extent to which children and their families are better able to function on their own behalf, are more self-reliant, better prepared to meet the challenges of life with their own inner resources."

Mrs. Harman stated that at a recent UNICEF Executive Board Meeting, it was decided, once again, to give the highest priority to basic and community-based services, and to concentrate on deprived areas where poverty is a continuous vicious circle of misery and hopelessness, destroying human dignity and self-respect.

"In all of our countries the new consciousness and support which has been aroused must be continued. We must constitute ourselves as a powerful lobby, a more coherent advocacy for children's needs, based on a deeper understanding of those factors that prevent progress, and of the necessary action needed to ensure progress. We must think creatively, be willing and prepared for innovation that is related to our different realities, as we all seek to assure our children health, education, skills and self-fulfilment in conditions of equity and social justice."

* * *

GERSHON AVNER, President, University of Haifa.

"It is with unusual pleasure that on behalf of the University of Haifa I welcome the participants of this seminar, and the citizens of Haifa, Jerusalem and elsewhere, who have come here to celebrate the opening session.

In our University, which is among the younger ones in Israel, we teach the liberal arts, the humanities, and social and behavioural sciences, with more and more accent on the behavioural sciences. We have our Schools of Social Work, and of Education and Teacher Training, apart from the Faculties of Humanities, Social Sciences and the Science of Mathematics. As a result, service to the community is a central theme in the work and the life of this University." Mr. Avner believed the University was doing a great deal for children, through the School of Social Work, by means of the efforts of its academic personnel to resolve social problems occurring in villages and townships in the northern part of the country.

He emphasized that in the School of Education and Teacher Training, much research was being done on specific problems of education and child-growth, since they affect children who are, perhaps, 'not normative', that is, the difficult child, the child who finds it hard to learn to read, the deaf child and other children in various categories of disadvantage and handicap whose education must be furthered as best as society can, despite their handicap.

Referring to the relationship between the University and MCTC, Mr. Avner said, "Because this University is community-service oriented, we also render whatever assistance we can to the Mount Carmel Centre. Our association with it is right in the mainstream of our ideal, which is to do academic work like all other universities in the world, strive for ever-greater academic excellence, and parallel with that, we use our academic strength for service for the community."

* * *

RAHAMIM TIMOR, Director, Israel Association for International Cooperation.

"Since Israel started its international cooperation programmes some 24 years ago, more than 25,000 foreign students have been trained in this country, in various centres and training institutions.

We believe that the experience we have accumulated should be shared with other developing countries, for we still consider ourselves a developing country. That experience is perhaps unique in the sense that Israel is a place where at the same time that simple methods, simple technology, are being transmitted, sophisticated modern methods in various fields, whether in education or technology, can also be learned."

Mr. Timor expressed his gratitude to the international organisations that had awarded scholarships and travel grants to facilitate attendance at this biennial international seminar. He concluded with good wishes for "a happy stay in Israel."

* * *

ELIEZER SHMUELI, Director General, Ministry of Education and Culture.

"Education today, in our free world, is the biggest challenge that our society is facing. The pendulum of educational ideas swings back and forth. In the past, there was a tendency to educate the elite — today, through the process of democratisation of our education systems, we open them wide to all the children of the nation.

Right now there is a trend in many parts of the world to go back to private education. The main problem that we are facing in the State of Israel, and I am sure in many other countries also, is the 'open-gate' policy, the absorption of all the children into the educational system. Unfortunately, this policy sometimes finds us unprepared, since the teachers, the educational authorities, the communities, are not ready to accommodate all the children, to take care of each individual that comes under the roof of the educational system and meet his or her very special, unique capabilities and needs.

In this year, the Year of the Child, we have expanded our compulsory education law to include the tenth grade children and extended free education up to the twelfth grade, giving every child in Israel between the ages of five and eighteen free education, and making it compulsory for every child from five to sixteen to go to school.

These new laws have added another 6,000 children to the 1,170,000 already in school. I would say that over a third of our population is attending different kinds of schools at different levels of education, from the pre-kindergarten age through the universities.

"Once the children are in school, we have to consider their very special needs. Our teachers were educated to meet the needs of the middle-class children - those who come voluntarily and willingly to study. But children from the poorer strata, who were never placed in the schools because of their own willingness to study - they are the ones that need special attention.

Israel has been developing measures to absorb the disadvantaged children in the proper way. One of these, today, is the boarding school. Out of 160,000 pupils of secondary school age, more than 40,000 from the ages of twelve to eighteen, are being educated in boarding schools. This situation is unique with respect to a poor section of society, and a very social way of educating them.

In the early fifties our educators, under the influence of educators from abroad, were of the opinion that a broken home is still better than a boarding school, but I believe that we have proved that a good and warm hearted boarding school can help children grow up happily and become good and productive citizens. During the past year, we located 12,000 mal-functioning families, and believe that it is the task of our system to bring their children into that warm atmosphere of our supervised, controlled boarding schools.

Unfortunately, like many other countries, we suffer a shortage of teachers. We have been educating teachers in three-year training colleges, and in schools of education in universities; but we failed to educate community workers, boarding-school home mothers and other personnel. This, we believe is one of the tasks of our society.

A further problem that Israel has been facing during the past years is the frequent dispersion of its population that requires educating. Today, as a result of the compulsory education law, over 98% of the children aged five to sixteen are attending schools, and more than 90% of the 3-4 age group are in pre-kindergarten schools. Many of our children from the ages of 0-3 are in day-care centres.

This is a learning society, whose dispersion creates new problems. Students in the urban areas, in the big cities, and in the central part of the country are getting better education than children in the geographically and socially marginal areas of our society. Our challenge today is to develop the educational system by improving the services in the marginal areas, in remote villages, where the teachers are insufficiently qualified, not experienced enough to provide the same quality of education given in the urban areas."

Mr. Shmueli also described Israel's problem of social integration resulting from its continuous absorption of the new immigrants from a total of 120 different countries ever since the establishment of the State. This, he said, has created an educational dilemma. In the first years of statehood, the westernized section of the population believed

it was their duty to impose 'western' culture on the immigrants from Asia and Africa. Only recently have people become aware of the very special contribution of <u>each</u> community to the Israeli culture, which is being integrated. Now students from the different countries are being encouraged to study their own culture and history, and all children are prompted to learn about each others' cultures, through books on history, literature, the arts, dancing, etc. This procedure has now become part of Israel's system of education.

"We are reaching out, from the school to the community, through community centres and country-wide cultural programmes, trying to improve relationships with the community and with the parents."

The schools, Mr. Shmueli stated, have suffered not only from the lack of teachers, but from their not being prepared to cope with the constant flood of immigrant pupils. In the beginning, a call went out to graduates of high schools, to rabbis, to untrained but educated people, who might help to promote the standards of education. Today, the important challenge is to train teachers to become 'multi-functioning educators' who would be familiar with the background of their pupils, visit their homes and be in touch with their parents.

"I believe that right now all countries have this same task — to try to develop the culture in which, and from which, the child has been growing; to try to deepen and strengthen the understanding of the child; to try and bring the community into the school, and make the school a part of the community."

* * *

Monday 18th

PLENARY SESSION

Section I - chaired by Atalay Yorukoglu

INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILDHOOD, CULTURE AND COMMUNITY

David Harman

The theme of this seminar - that of childhood, culture and community - is the basic contention that one cannot properly analyse childhood, or propose an appropriate public policy regarding the childhood years, without viewing children in the context of the cultures and communities in which they live. The non-conventionality of this approach is merely a reflection upon the fact that while we spend much time thinking about children, analysing culture, and discussing community, the three are rarely viewed integrally. Both the social sciences and social policy have increasingly been focussing their attention upon *micro* rather than *macro* aspects of the human condition.

Society has been dissected into microscopic parts and each submitted to the exacting scrutiny of social science microscopes. The first few days and months of life have been carefully researched and a series of policy implications put forward. The literature on child development offers detailed analyses of the significance of the first few years of life and continues to put forward what it considers to be appropriate policy formulations. The same holds true for the adolescent years and, more recently, for various aspects of adulthood. The dissection has been so thorough as to confound attempts to put the puzzle together again. What we will try to do over the next 10 days is to see to what extent we can reformulate a contextually bound macro, rather than a micro approach essential for effective and efficient policy directions. If we wish to address our attention to the early years, we must relate those years to the entire life cycle. Life cycles assume different patterns and characteristics in different cultural groups and therefore, our review must be contextually bound.

This emphasis upon contextualisation is partly a reaction to another unfortunate manifestation of modern social science. Most social science with which we are familiar and which has influenced our thinking, is western in origin. It is deeply imbedded in the cultural context within which it has developed and relates to a culture and civilisation with which it is familiar. The tools developed, the conclusions arrived at,

and many of the policies that have been derived, relate to a western context and may not be transportable. Nonetheless we all transport them and they have rarely been challenged on that basis.

Inherently, each and every community of people within the context of its cultural heritage, has evolved patterns for raising children which can be viewed as an implicit policy for children. In many cases such patterns have baffled western social scientists who, in their contextual perspectives, have found them to be abnormative. Many have drawn the conclusion that cultures engaged in what they might consider to be abnormal practices, are, in fact, 'culturally deprived'. That term was invoked quite often during the 1950's and 1960's and is still used by many people. What it actually means is that one group is often different from another and therefore, relative to the group that serves as the yardstick, is deprived. Rectification of the 'abnormalities' of 'culturally deprived' groups lies in a policy of change and compensation. Such a policy, it is often argued, requires that children of such groups be 'saved' by various measures that would eventually develop in them cultural affinities, the ultimate object of which would be to distance the children - the populations which are the target of these policies - from their groups of origin and orientation.

This syndrome might well be labelled the 'myopia of western social science'. Nonetheless, it is a significant one, because it has influenced the thought of most of us sitting in this room today, as well as social scientists and policy makers through the world.

Allow me to put forward a number of propositions:

> First, each and every group of people lives within cultural boundaries that are distinctly their own. While there may be a great deal of similarity between groups, there is almost always also a great deal of dissimilarity, making each group unique.
>
> Second, all cultures *must* deal and *do* deal with issues of childrearing.
>
> Third, within each group it is possible to identify a social organising principle. Children are nearly always members of social units we know as families, even though the family structure may vary quite radically, and families, in turn, are sub-sets of a large organising principle, known as community.

Public policy has recently rediscovered the family. Increasingly one hears of efforts to devise 'family policy', as opposed to 'early childhood policy'. Increasingly, we are being admonished to cease in our mistaken efforts at establishing programmes aimed at children without relating such activities to the child's family group. I would suggest that this is a first step in the right direction.

Throughout recorded history, across cultures, it has been noted that families were units that normally constituted cells of a community of several or many families, which largely determined the social norms that both governed and sanctioned family function. One can broadly state that in the western experience, until the 17th century, families were units of a whole community, well integrated on a community basis. Differentiation into more limited nuclear cores appeared during that century mostly among the upper bourgeoisie and landed squirarchy. Rapid urbanisation in the 19th century extended that differentiation to lower classes of society.

Nuclearisation intensified as a result of community erosion, a process that in turn was influenced by class distinction and the formation of much larger population centres - the cities. A modern analogy to this progression can be seen in many countries of the Third World. As communal ties become weakened through migration to urban centres, and the links between those centres and their rural hinterlands become intensified, the role and the function of nuclear family cells become more significant, and members of nuclear families more dependent upon each other.

The current debate as to whether the family, as the basic social structure within the society, is alive or dead, is largely focused upon the nuclear family unit. In fact, industrialisation and urbanisation have served to reinforce the nuclearisation of families. Increasingly, families have had to assume functions of defunct community structures. There has indeed been a radical change in the nature of family function and ties, but this has not resulted in the dissolution of the nuclear family unit. The structure that has been increasingly disappearing from social maps is that of community. Nuclear families have assumed some of its functions, while the modern state itself has sought to serve as a surrogate community, through its mechanisms of legislation and regulation. Nuclear families have survived evolution; communities in their classical sense may well be evolution's social casualty.

As one surveys the literature of cultural anthropology it rapidly becomes apparent that child rearing patterns employed by various cultural groups are by and large effective. Their efficacy is a function of the extent to which the patterns engaged succeed in producing adults capable of functioning within the acceptable normative patterns of their societies. They may not be able to function properly when transported into other cultures, but that, of course, is not the intention.

To be sure, there is much that needs rectification, throughout the world. Famine, poor health, illiteracy, have been recognised as areas in which much improvement is necessary. If modern technology can extend the life of individuals beyond their current expectancies then, it is agreed, modern technology should be spread. If illiteracy is an impediment to the improvement of living conditions, then we should seek to irradicate it.

In the process, however, it would be wrong to attempt radical intervention into cultural patterns. Indeed, cultural patterns should be sustained and their retention encouraged. Ralph Linton, the anthropologist, has succinctly stated the reason for such a position, explaining that, *'the great advantage of culture over other adoptive mechanisms lies in its flexibility and the care with which it can change to meet changing conditions'*. The implication is that our efforts at intervention should be bound to cultural contexts and be keenly sensitive to the particular characteristics of the cultural patterns pertaining, and the community structures existent.

The object of policy is intervention. Policy is formulated in order to establish various provisions aimed at alleviating conditions or at attempting to establish objectives. For example, a public health policy that creates mother-and-child health centres reacts to conditions pertaining both to current health status and the delivery of health services, with the hope that health conditions will be improved and the objective of good public health attained.

Viewing policy as intervention, one must realise that it impinges upon culture. Any social policy intervention is an attempt to alter patterns that are ingrained, and thus change the outcomes. For quite some time sociological theory contended that it was precisely this pattern that resulted in what they termed 'resistance to change'. Cultures, it was contended, seek to sustain themselves and are wary of any interference. More recently, however, this theory has been replaced by one which treats the issue of reaction to intervention in a different light. It is now maintained that cultures respond to change and intervention in a variety of manners dependent, in each case, upon the nature of the intervention. Reactions can range from absolute resistance, to enthusiastic acceptance. The impacts of any particular change will only become apparent over time, and are reacted to when they appear. For example, the spread of schooling has dramatically increased literacy levels, making it possible for remote communities to have access to new ideas and information. One cannot, of course, control what a literate person will read and therefore cannot predict which of the newly generated ideas might have an impact. Once literate, a culture cannot react by seeking to reinstate illiteracy as a norm. Consequently that culture is forced to evolve so as to contend with this new - and often uninvited - incursion upon former patterns of information flow. It must create patterns that will absorb the change, and will deal with it.

The manner in which different cultural groups react to different kinds of intervention is of course different, in accord with its own cultural heritage. Any new idea, policy, or programme will have to interact with that past heritage. Therefore the reception of different measures will be different in different communities.

A thorough analysis of existing cultures is a pre-condition to derivation of any policy. I have referred to this as the <u>principle of the situation-specificity</u>, and defined it thus. Each community of people

exists within a cultural and environmental context from which it derives a unique character and dynamic, requiring that the understanding of groups be based on that analysis, within the confines of those contexts, and that the planning and development of activities be anchored in such a situation-specific analysis.

The culture of a group is sustained by the group itself. It is not a set of rules blindly adhered to, but rather a set or rules that is constantly being modified by that group's membership. There is a two-way relationship between members of a group (the community) and its culture, in which each is formed by the other. This premise can be stated as follows: Culture and community form a symbiotic relationship in which they define each other, and then work to sustain those definitions and evolve them over time. The two are intertwined, inseparable, each incapable of surviving without the other.

The second practical implication of this presentation, then, is that as the cultural context must be the backdrop of policy, communities must be its primary target.

The principle of situation-specificity does not posit that social intervention efforts must necessarily assume different forms for each community in which they are applied. It seeks a relevance to the communities which serve as 'target populations', arguing that their socio-cultural world must form the basis upon which intervention activities are charted.

One distinct danger of imposing uniform intervention policies was aptly pointed out by the late Margaret Mead, who wrote: *'People who regard their culture, from the seeds that proceed from a sacred store provided by a mythical ancestor, to their own method of producing children by spiritual rather than by direct biological means, as peculiar to themselves and part of their cultural identity, obviously are not able to take advantage of the innovations of their neighbours'.*

Furthermore, she said, *'If such a people comes in contact with a people who have a much more complex technology to which they cannot respond by adaptive learning of selected portions, they are not only unlikely to make positive progress, but also are likely to make progressively worse adaptions as they invent ways of not learning from the other culture'.*

Most of us here can point to numerous examples of where this occurs. Just to mention one, is the whole issue of bottle-feeding of young children, which has caused so much trouble in so many countries. It is a case of inappropriate transfer of a technology which has been improperly learned, with very dire consequences.

It becomes necessary then, to look at the educative effects of social environment, to examine the social structures of society, the way in

which learning is structured in each society, and to evaluate indigenous learning styles and teaching mechanism. In short: what is important to learn, how it is learned, who teaches it, when it occurs, and in what way it can be adapted, will vary from culture to culture.

Dr. Harman again quoted a statement by Margaret Mead, that: *'one of the blocks in our ability to transform our present-day culture is our failure to recognise the extent to which different individuals, different occupations, classes and cultures depend on implicit learning from artifacts, on imitative, and identificatory learning, and on gestalt learning - learning without the intervention of a teacher'.*

Michael Cole, psychologist turned anthropologist, reports from his studies of the Kpelle tribe in Africa that *'children communicate mostly among themselves and devise practice sessions of adult skills....'; 'children learn more from observation than from situations specifically designed to transmit information orally'.*

From a different perspective, Paulo Freire, the well known Brazilian philosopher and educator, premises all of his work on the notion that learning and social policies of all types must relate to the contextual situations and the perceptual maps of people. He argues that there is no 'neutral' learning and therefore there cannot be 'neutral' transmission. It is all culturally and perceptually related. Freire saw the teacher who was sent to the village not as a teacher, but as a facilitator, as one whose role was to identify 'generative' words of the population groups, and then use those words to initiate a process of learning.

What are the implications of these diverse propositions? We here are primarily concerned with the improvement of the lot of the world's children. Each of us works within a framework consisting of certainly one, and usually many different cultural groups; our task is to formulate a policy that will have an impact upon the state of affairs currently pertaining in our respective countries.

I suggest that as a strategy for deriving policy we should be bent upon identifying an appropriate manner in which to function, a process of thought, rather than specific actions. I suggest that the specific actions and policies that will ultimately be adopted should be related to the populations among which they are to be implemented, and not to policies and programmes that have proved effective in other settings.

The process that I wish to suggest has the following elements:

1. Situation-specificity is its core, and its fundamental premise.

2. Working through indigenous patterns and through indigenous perceptual maps. This will require the methods employed in the implementation of policy to be indigenous to the group, and not imported ones.

3. Working through indigenous social structures in which the family cells are viewed as elements of a wider group - the community. It is the community that provides the same support for the family as the family supplies to its children.

4. Utilizing informal and formal intervention and learning techniques simultaneously.

5. Seeing children within the context of the community in which they live and to which they must relate, rather than as separate and culturally unidentified human beings.

6. Community supports are necessary to sustain intervention, and the target population of programmes should be the communities. By implication, of course, that would mean dealing with all community members, including family units.

These few premises are suggested as an initial framework within which we should develop our discussions and proposals for the future.

Panel

Section II - chaired by Gladys Ekuban

ASPECTS OF DETERMINANT NEEDS IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Brigitte Gilles

In the development of any child, in any country or culture, there are certain basic needs that determine the course of that development, and which continue to exert a lifelong influence.

The basic needs are:

Physical: such as the necessity for nourishment, shelter, medical care.

Social-emotional: for contact, love, affection, help, self-esteem, recognition of achievement.

Cognitive: for perception, curiosity, thinking, creativity.

The development of the child is largely influenced by the experiences gained while trying to obtain satisfaction of these needs. For instance, eating predominantly rice during childhood develops a lifelong preference for this food. On the other hand, if the need for nourishment is seldom satisfied, the child will develop a special interest in eating and in thinking about food, even when not hungry.

With regard to social-emotional needs, experiences of positive contacts can lead the child to being spoilt if such contacts are always taken for granted, and are not limited or affected by bad behaviour. Conversely, experiencing positive contacts only after especially good behaviour may lead to dependence on the contact persons, since the child must have those experiences.

Regarding cognitive needs: the need for perception in infancy and early childhood is normally satisfied by the stimuli of the immediate environment, and is activated by the extent of variety of form, texture, colour and movement in the surroundings. Lack of such variety may block the development of intelligence, since activation of the need for perception is fundamental to the sensorimotor period of intelligence development, which in turn is fundamental to the periods that follow.

The examples touched upon demonstrate that the needs are partly inborn and must be satisfied in order to survive (most are physical and some social-emotional). Other needs, especially the cognitive needs (with the exception of the need for perception) are needs which can be only partially satisfied, without affecting life in a biological sense. To gain experiences in the cognitive needs, it is necessary to develop one's potential for intellectual life.

The experiences gained while trying to obtain satisfaction of needs arouse learning processes which gradually form the habits, customs, traits, expectancies and other characteristics of the personality. The process of acquiring behaviour patterns and characteristics appropriate to one's own sex, family, social class, ethnic and religious groups, we call 'socialisation'.

The learning processes themselves are different. We differentiate between conditioning-learning (consisting of instrumental conditioning and operant conditioning), learning from models, learning through identification, and learning through insight or problem solving. Conditioning-learning is dependent on effects of behaviour, on learning from models, on the kind of activities the model demonstrates, and the consequences experienced in these activities. Identification is characterised by the desire of a child to be like a model.

Learning through insight is the result of anticipating the effects of an activity or of recognising the changes caused by operating with things or persons, and of drawing conclusions from those observations.

All learning processes play a part in development. For example, instrumental conditioning takes place through an activity which has satisfied a need (here the activity is seen as an instrument to satisfy the need). In this way the child learns to discriminate between trials which end in errors and those which have a satisfying effect. In the case of operant learning, spontaneous actions gain greater priority when they are reinforced by other persons.

A typical example of instrumental conditioning is aggressive behaviour. The child who feels frustrated by other children and 'lets off steam' with an attack upon other children without any negative consequences, tends to use this reaction as a method in analogous situations in the future.

A typical example of operant conditioning is learning to be industrious when industrious behaviour earns the appreciation of the parents.

Learning from a model - imitation learning - is often practised in order to learn the sex roles, especially after children have recognised their own sex. They observe what the person of their own sex tends to do and what the consequences the model experiences. If the consequences are positive, children try to do the same. Then, if they, too, are

successful, they retain this behaviour. If they are not successful (for instance if they are told that they are too young to act like adults), they retain what they have seen, but show the behaviour only later in life.

The wish to identify with an adult (the mother), leads a child to enjoy or fear the same things and events that the mother enjoys or fears. In this way many children learn to be afraid of a dog or a storm, and many girls learn to enjoy clothes.

From the second year of life the child begins to learn through insight, thinks about the effects of his or her actions and repeats them deliberately. We can see that the child expects a definite effect and that he or she is surprised or disillusioned if it does not follow.

The experiences a child gains through his needs and their satisfactions have different consequences, with respect to different needs.

In the case of physical needs the positive consequence is health, growth, a feeling of well-being, motor skills.

The consequences of the fulfilment of social-emotional needs are self-confidence, self-concept, self-respect, self-control, self-realisation (estimation of the self), fulfilment of sex roles, ability to make contact with other persons (the interplay of dependence, independence, dominance, and subordination), likes and dislikes (generalising to attitudes, interests, goals), and sense of responsibility.

The fulfilment of cognitive needs lead to: confidence in the structure and stability of the world around him or her, the ability to differentiate, and to perceive the complexity of things, perceiving and solving problems, competence in using language for communication and thinking, being creative and productive, acquiring knowledge.

In each country or culture there are particular conditions that determine the kind and range of experiences the child will have while satisfying his or her needs, and in turn these conditions will determine the effects of those experiences.

Particularly important for satisfaction of physical needs are economic conditions and the possibility of free movement. The child who grows up in a city slum, restricted by poverty, can move about and see little, and his experience is correspondingly poor.

Particularly important for social-emotional needs are the intimate contacts of the child, and the number, continuity and variety of his or her relations with others. For example, a child who enjoys many good and lasting contacts is more likely to develop confidence in his future relations with other people.

Particularly important for cognitive needs are: complexity of environment, direct stimulation and encouragement, the possibilities for independent experiences, fields in which to prove oneself. A child who does not learn to make his way in a complex environment, and to make sure distinctions in complexity, tends to become an adult who is no longer open to a complex environment, who sees new things and new people only as variations of what he knows. His world is a series of schemata from which new experiences are excluded.

Finally, I wish to emphasize that needs, experiences and conditions all interact. For example, freedom of movement determines not only the experiences connected with physical needs, but also those connected with social-emotional and cognitive needs. A concrete instance is the child who grows up in a large city with much traffic and little freedom of movement. Such a child tends to become more aggressive (if he or she is very vivacious) or more passive (if more calm) and to lack concentration in thinking and learning.

The road from infancy to childhood is a very complex one. We are not certain whether this process has a fixed sequence. But it may be assumed that the development of a child follows a transformation process from an egocentric and naive interpretation of the self, of others, and of the world, to a more decentralized and critical one. What is necessary for the child in infancy is to experience love and varied perceptions. After about a year, symbolic functions appear. The child learns the native language. The main activity is playing. In this way she or he imitates other persons and indirectly learns the specific behaviour of the family or social class.

In kindergarten or the school, systematic learning begins. But during this time the influence of the family remains very important. The family gives a child the motivation to satisfy its needs, especially the cognitive ones, since the child is being motivated not only by the teachers to learn, but very much through the interest and participation of the parents.

There is much to be said here about the interplay of child, parents and institutions, but I am sure we will hear this from the other speakers.

P a n e l (cont'd)

CULTURE AND CHILDREN

Gerald Handel

"The newborn human being, helpless and dependent, is unprepared for the life that lies ahead of him or her. The human species is a social species whose members must live together in some kind of cooperative arrangements in order to survive, and to gain satisfaction. But the newborn human baby, unable to participate in those social arrangements, has only the potentiality for becoming social, for developing into a person capable of complex forms of cooperation. However, that potentiality comes to fruition only if the newborn is given care over a prolonged period of time, during which the baby learns to be human, learns to function in increasingly complex social ways as its body matures, and thereby becomes progressively capable of social participation.

Every baby is born into a social group of some kind, and usually into a set of groups of progressively larger size included one within the other, such as family, community, society. The largest is a society, a group of people larger than a single kinship unit, who occupy a particular territory and regard themselves as members of the same group, distinctive from other groups occupying other territories.

Each society has a way of life of its own, its own culture. These two concepts, society and culture, are basic concepts for understanding how human beings live, and for understanding how newborn babies eventually become able to function as human beings. The people who take care of a newborn baby not only make it possible for that baby to survive as a biological organism, they also introduce him to the culture that he must acquire to become an adequate member of his society.

The concepts of society and culture are somewhat elastic and can be applied to groupings of varying scope. For certain purposes it is useful to recognise that the societies of western Europe, and some of their colonial offshoots, have some elements in common so that they are together referred to as western society, and thereby distinguished from other large units such as the Arab world, or oriental society. For other purposes it is useful to divide a particular society into sub-units, ethnic groups or social classes, when those sub-units have their own ways of life that are significantly distinctive from each other.

The major concern of this paper is with cultural differences and their impact on children. But here it is well to remind ourselves that there are some fundamental similarities in all societies, and therefore

fundamental similarities in the way babies become human beings. The American sociologist Charles Horton Cooley, writing in the early years of the twentieth century, pointed out that babies are not *born* with human nature but *acquire* their human nature in primary groups:

'those simple face-to-face groups that are somewhat alike in all societies; groups of the family, the playground, and the neighbourhood. In the essential similarity of these is to be found the basis, in experience, for similar ideas and sentiments in the human mind. In these, everywhere, human nature comes into existence. Man does not have it at birth; he cannot acquire it except through fellowship, and it decays in isolation'.

Thus the early social experiences of the child have the paradoxical consequence of both preparing the child to function in his own particular society and also endowing him with a social capacity, a humanity, that allows him to interact with, and to some extent understand people from other societies.

Let us turn now more specifically to the concept of culture and then to its importance for children. The concept of culture is generally credited to the British anthropologist E.B. Taylor, who in 1871, defined it as: *'a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'."*

More recent anthropologists, Dr. Handel said, dissatisfied with this definition which simply lists, disconnectedly, various aspects of human activity, push toward a more abstract, more theoretical definition.

"Thus, in 1952, Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn defined culture as the *'patterns, implicit and explicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the achievement of human groups...; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and their attached values; culture systems are both products of action and conditioning elements of further action'.*

This definition emphasizes patterns that are general, rather than specific spheres of activity. Meyer Fortes emphasized *'standardized ways of knowing, thinking, feeling'* that are universally valued and obligatory in a given group of people at a given time.

While the concept of culture as a pattern with more or less consistency is now recognised as useful, it is also necessary to recognise that any culture is complex, having a technology, a system of social relationships, a body of ideas. It is also useful to think of culture as existing on at least two levels - overt and covert - that is, some aspects of a culture are known to the people who participate in it, while other aspects are not known to them but can be discovered by special research activities.

Anthropologist Edward T. Hall has written: *'Culture... is a mold in which we are all cast, and it controls our daily lives in many unsuspected ways. ...Culture hides much more than it reveals, and strangely enough what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants. Years of study have convinced me that the real job is not to understand foreign culture, but to understand our own. ...The best reason for exposing oneself to foreign ways is to generate a sense of vitality and awareness - an interest in life which can come only when one lives through the shock of contrast and difference'.*

Children acquire their culture by socially interacting with older members of their society. Some of these interactions are specifically intended by the adults to teach. The adults demonstrate to children how they are supposed to do something. But children also learn their culture by observing adults and taking them as models. Learning a language illustrates both these ways of learning. Adults teach correct word pronunciation, correct ways of forming a sentence, but the child learns much more from listening to the speech. Hall has pointed to a significant impact of culture on the very process of learning.

He writes: *'...People reared in different cultures learn to learn differently. Some do so by memory and rote without reference to logic as we think of it, while some learn by demonstration but without the teacher requiring the student to do anything himself while learning Some cultures, like the American, stress doing as a principle of learning, while others have very little of the pragmatic. The Japanese even guide the hand of the pupil, while our teachers usually aren't permitted to touch the other person'.*

These differences that Hall describes in the ways that children learn to learn, have implications in many directions. For example, the teaching-learning relationship is at the same time an authority relationship, so that while the child is learning a cognitive cultural task he is at the same time learning how to relate to an authority figure. There is a difference between being expected only to listen and remember, and being expected to do something on one's own, using one's own imagination and taking risks that may result in errors or in approved accomplishments."

Turning to more specific illustrations of cultural differences, Dr. Handel used a variety of examples. He pointed out that childhood is itself a cultural concept, and cited the Second Principle in the Declaration of Rights adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1959, which states that: "The child shall be given special protection..... opportunities and facilities..... to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity".

Dr. Handel compared the implications of this principle with the attitudes towards children described by the French historian, Philippe Aries in 'Centuries of Childhood', which indicates that the very notion

of childhood as a distinctive stage of life did not exist - at least in Europe - in the Middle Ages. It emerged slowly in the 16th and 17th centuries. Before the 16th century, Europeans recognised a period of infancy, which lasted until the age of 6 or 7, at which age the child was thrust into the world of adults and mingled freely in society with people of all ages. What Aries meant was not that people did not love children, but that they took little notice of the special characteristics of childhood.

"Children's clothing was not different from that of adults, once they emerged from infancy. Children and adults played the same games together, children participated with adults in gambling games; they were not subjected to any special moral protection; adults spoke freely about sexual matters in their presence, and even engaged in physical contacts with them that today would widely be regarded as depraved. In the 16th and 17th centuries the concept of childhood as a special period of life developed in two versions. Within the family, *'A new concept of childhood had appeared, in which the child, on account of his sweetness, simplicity and drollery, became a source of amusement and relaxation for the adult'.*

Aries calls this the 'coddling' attitude toward children. In reaction to this attitude, moralists and pedagogues developed a moral concern for children and engaged in a determined effort to turn them into 'thinking men' and 'good Christians'. Children were seen as fragile creatures of God who had to be both safeguarded and reformed.

According to Aries, it was these 17th century moralists and pedagogues *'who succeeded in imposing their considered concept of a long childhood, thanks to the success of the educational institutions and practices which they guided and supervised. We find the same men, obsessed with educational questions, at the origins of both the modern concept of childhood and the modern concept of schooling'.*

The concept of childhood developed most fully in the middle classes; the old ways of life survived longer in the poorer classes which had not been subjected for so long a period to the influence of the school.

The anthropologist Oscar Lewis has identified the lack of a protected childhood as one of the significant features of what he has called 'the culture of poverty', a culture he considered to be widespread among the poorest workers, peasants and plantation laborers in many societies around the world. In these most impoverished segments of the population, where survival is a daily issue and in which people are scarcely connected to the institutions of their society, there are few resources for protecting children. Violence is frequently used in training them, and the children are exposed to most features of adult life, however destructive.

The process by which children become social and acquire their culture is known in English as the process of socialisation. Recent

studies have begun to show that this process begins in the earlier days of infancy and that practically from birth children are being prepared for participation in their own particular society and culture. William Caudill, an American anthropologist and long-time student of Japan, made a study of 30 Japanese mothers and infants and 30 American mothers and infants; both groups were middle class. He found that the mothers' styles of taking care of their children were quite different and that these differences were related to the general organisation of the two societies.

The American mothers were quicker than the Japanese mothers to respond to the baby's vocalized unhappiness. The Japanese mothers sought to soothe and quiet their babies while rocking them; they engaged in more physical contact but less vocal interaction with their infants. Caudill explained the difference on the basis of the different position of women in American and Japanese society. The American mother views her baby as a potentially separate person with his own needs which she must learn to recognise and care for.

'She helps him learn to express these needs and desires through her emphasis on vocal communication so that he can 'tell' her what he wants and she can respond appropriately'. She also thinks of herself as a separate individual who needs time apart from the baby to pursue her own interests. *'For this reason the pace of her caretaking is quicker than the Japanese mother's, her involvement with the baby is livelier and more intense... partly because she wishes to stimulate the baby to activity and response so that when it is time for him to sleep, he will remain asleep and allow her time to do other things...'*

According to Caudill, the Japanese mother views her baby more as an extension of herself, and feels she knows what is best for him because they are virtually one. There is greater emphasis on interdependence of mother and child in Japan. The Japanese mother is not in a hurry when she takes care of the baby because she does not expect to spend much time away from him, pursuing her own interests.

The evidence suggests that the infants have learned to respond in culturally appropriate ways by the age of three or four months, and that they have acquired some aspects of the implicit culture of their society before acquiring any specific competence in language.

By the fact that the mothers that Caudill studied were middle class we are reminded that the culture shaping the actions of the members within any particular society is not homogeneous. A society of any size includes various categories of people, each with its own version of the culture. Social class differences are probably important in many societies. I have mentioned thus far the culture of poverty of the very lowest class, and I have mentioned the middle class. In many societies there is also a working class, in which childhood will probably usually be more protected than that of the lower class, but not so protected as in the middle class.

Some research shows other important differences in child rearing between middle class and the working class. Studies in Italy and in the United States showed that in certain respects each class in the two countries was more similar than were the two classes within the same country. Middle class parents in both countries placed more emphasis on self-direction in their children than did the working class parents in both countries. The working class parents emphasized obedience, respect for authority, and correct behaviour. Middle class parents were concerned not only with correct action but with the intentions and the consequences of action. They want their children to understand the reasons for acting in one way rather than another.

In many countries, there are important cultural differences between the dominant ethnic group and minority ethnic groups. These differences can lead to great misunderstanding and difficulties. In the United States, for example, many black children are taught that meeting the gaze of an older person is a sign of defiance or hostility, but white teachers will often interpret an averted gaze as evidence of disrespect or of an attempt to hide something. When these two meanings are brought together in a situation of social interaction, the cultural difference can lead to difficulty for the minority child.

Cultural differences also occur in a complex modern society, whose various institutions each have somewhat different emphases within a common culture. The extent of the difference varies from one society to another. For example, in a comparison of child-rearing in the United States and the Soviet Union, it has been noted that there is much more coordination among socialising agencies in the Soviet Union than in the United States. The teen-age peer group with its own teen-age subculture has emerged as influential in the United States, is often opposed to the cultural emphases of the family and the school, which may also themselves be in conflict. These differences are much less marked in the Soviet Union.

The examples I have presented indicate that the concept of culture is highly useful in understanding differences among child-rearing goals and child-rearing practices in different societies. They also indicate that it is necessary to keep in mind that culture is a concept that is applied to groups of varying size and scope. Developed nations may have a culture that in some sense belongs to the nation as a whole, and developing nations may be moving toward such a condition. But even in nations with a long history, the sub-cultural differences within may often be equally significant in understanding the development of children in different segments of the population."

Panel (cont'd)

COMMUNITY: STRUCTURES AND PATTERNS OF ORGANISATION

Geulah Solomon

I think we should spend a little time discussing the concept of community, which is usually glossed over in the use of the term. We very often use the word 'community' as an adjective - we talk about community education, community development, regional or local community, etc. We forget the word 'community', and concentrate on the noun which is being described by the word, such as 'education' or 'development', assuming that we all know what we mean by a 'community'.

If we use the word as a noun, we use it often in a value-loaded way. For example, in programmes and policy development, we often talk about 'disadvantaged communities', 'traditional communities', 'migrant communities' or 'developing communities', using the noun 'community' in juxtaposition with a description which we think is superior. When we talk about a 'traditional' community, we are really comparing it with the 'modern' community, which we assume, implicitly, to be superior. So, it is worth a little time to investigate the actual concept involved in the term itself.

In community theory and sociology the term is deliberately left vague, imprecisely defined, and the concept tends to be explained in terms of associations such as parents, the larger family grouping, and gradually becoming wider and less intimate to the individual, such as organisations, neighbourhoods and, in the long term, the whole society.

This brings me to the first interpretation of 'community' as a form of association of people interacting for a specific purpose or set of purposes, or because of a set of common bonds. In sociological jargon, this is often called a 'gestalt'. In common usage in most of our countries, when we talk about the association of people in a community of this nature, we are talking about ethnic or tribal, religious, or racial groups, neighbourhood-interest and common-fate groups.

The individual's membership in a community can be imposed upon him involuntarily - in other words, by the accident of his birth. Most of us are to some extent involved in our communities, merely by having been born into them. In this case the individual's initial membership is very passive and something over which he has no control, although he may take an active role in subsequent years.

I have designated this as a community which is a *product*; it tends to be a closed community, in which relations are formalised. Historically, this has been the traditional explanation of community development and stems from the anthropological and archaeological disciplines. In the Middle Ages such communities were seen as autonomous, self-governing entities into which a person was born, and in which he stayed. Today, however, due largely to occupational and geographic mobility, to the breakdown of social class and to the promotion of social mobility, people are able to choose the communities in which they belong.

In a sense 'community' has become a goal, rather than merely a product. The goal of creating or forming a community is, in fact, a process, in which we find that individuals take an active role. Communities themselves are dynamic, because people are moving in and out all the time, and the definition of what they consist of changes.

In reality, of course, no community is either a closed community or an open community; it is a mixture of both, where the community is both a product of birth, of the situation in the society, and is also a process. So that while initial membership is not necessarily self-chosen, there are also elements of positive, direct commitment, or attachment to other individuals.

If a living culture can be described, as T.S. Eliot did, as the whole way of life of a particular people in a particular place, then community can be described as a particular group of people who share that way of life. But it is the community, the people - not the culture - which is the significant determining element.

Communities also influence culture, by forms of social control and change. One of the most significant agents for social control and social change is the formal school system, which is probably why we place so much emphasis on education in our community development programmes, because we see it as a mechanism for social change.

Now, this seminar is concerned with discussing three major themes: the first is the impact of children on their community; the second is the impact of the community on its children; the third is the relationship *between* communities, and *with* the whole society.

To start with the third one: policy-makers and programmes are geared towards problem-solving of particular communities because we have become preoccupied with the needs and problems of individuals, and you best reach individuals by dealing with small, specific-interest and specific-need groups within a community. Perhaps that explains why we concentrate so much on sub-sections of communities, such as children, or families, or poverty groups; they are manageable to deal with, and their needs seem to take priority. Essentially, however, the objective of direct community service and direct community involvement is to reach the *individuals* within the community. We know that when this is done,

programmes and policies are more effective. But first of all this means that we have to foster a sense of community-identity and cohesion.

We have today, in both the developing and the developed countries, a phenomenon where people live together without necessarily having a sense of community-identity or cohesion, on which programmes and policies have to be based. Perhaps we should direct more attention to the development of this sense of identity, in an existentialist kind of way, in order to implement effective programmes that deal with specific-need areas. Without a sense of community-identity and cohesion, we cannot reach the question of attitudes, which are the first step in delivery of services.

Nevertheless, although we need to concentrate on fostering a sense of community, we must remember that people live also in a whole society, and in most of our countries, the problems of nation-building, and of developing a sense of community, a national identity, are as important as promoting a community of grassroots common bonds, of neighbourhood or ethnic groupings. For policy-makers and programmers, this question of how to promote the well-being and cohesion of a small community without destroying the sense of total community, of society, can cause conflicts.

I wish to present to you a number of possible models developed by sociologists and scientists to overcome this problem. These are models of relationships between communities which are based on the assumption that in every country there is either a main community represented by a dominant culture, or a situation in which a number of communities are vying to become the main community and the dominant culture.

To give you an example: I was in Malaysia recently, and there I observed a situation of three communities, based on ethnic and religious factors, two of which were almost numerically equal. Malaysia is a newly developed and newly constituted nation, whose problem of nation-building involves establishing a national culture and a dominant community group. One of these groups established itself as a dominant community, and developed a national policy affecting the other communities, basing this policy on itself as the bearer of the national culture.

(Here the speaker referred to the diagrams of models on the blackboard.) I am going to isolate five models. One is a pattern based on relationships requiring assimilation, in which the community (tribal, ethnic, racial or religious), has to assimilate to what is considered to be the national culture - the culture of the whole society.

The second one is integration. Let me point out that in many countries, including Australia, people talk about integration when they really mean assimilation.

The third one is pluralism, the model on which educational and development policies in Israel have been based in the past few years. They started off in the fifties with a model based on integration,

moved to a model of pluralism, and are now moving back to a model combining both. I think that in a healthy society this is what should occur. When community problems arise, models should be experimented with, modified to suit the needs of the society, and altered or adapted when they are not achieving the objective which the society has in view.

The fourth one is separatism, more commonly known as 'apartheid', and the fifth is the model which the Americans at the end of the nineteenth century believed they were working on - the melting pot.

In the past few days a number of people have pointed out that the problem in their countries is not only a problem of promoting community and directing services to particular communities, but it is also a problem of integrating communities into a whole society without incurring loss of cultural characteristics which the community values.

Coming to the second thesis, about the impact of the community on children: every community, whether it is a neighbourhood, an ethnic, or a religious community, is involved in the effort to survive and to perpetuate itself through its children. It does this in a number of ways - first, by direct physical nurture, and secondly, by the child-rearing practices which it considers best suited to meet the objectives of survival.

The third way is through socialisation agents, such as the family, peer-groups, the school, media, and so forth. While the family is still the basic socialisation agent in every community, there is a tendency, wherever a formal school system exists, for the formal school to replace the family. The family may be a surrogate community and in danger of replacing the community, but the school is in danger of replacing the family. This we see in the development of school-based services and programmes, such as free milk, or informal extra-curricular education, which have in the past been regarded as the role and responsibility of the family.

Then there is the impact of the community on the children through a complex system of social sanctions and traditions (taboos against intermarriage, or dietary laws, etc.). The community affects the children by the physical and learning environment it provides, and these, in turn, influence the expectations and horizons of the children. For example, in Australia, among children who live in rural areas, the girls tend to go into either the teaching or the nursing profession, because the community environment in which they live does not provide them with a knowledge of other possibilities.

Still another way in which the community influences children is that it gives them a language which is the vehicle for their culture, whether at the working-class or the upper-class level in which they live, or whether it be the language which distinguishes them from other communities.

What impact does all this have upon children? Children are expected to become members of the community in which they are born and live, and they are expected by the adults to conform to the community's custom, values, traditions and modes of behaviour. Very often this causes difficulties with the children, with which community development people and community education programmes have to deal.

The first difficulties arise when the communities themselves are in a process of social change, and their children have trouble in identifying which elements of the community they have to accommodate, and with which to conform.

The second difficulty arises when children are expected to live in conflicting communities. None of us lives in a single community; all the friendship groups or membership groups we belong to constitute communities, and sometimes these conflict seriously. The conflict is most serious when the child belongs to a minority community, where he has to adjust not only to his own minority group, but also to the communities which belong to the majority, sometimes resulting in what we call 'cultural schizophrenia'. It is something with which all policy-makers have to deal when they attempt to adapt programmes to community needs and circumstances.

I have already noted that our preoccupation with community is based on our attempts to meet the needs of individuals. One of the ways we have done this is in the types of personnel we use. For instance, we use social workers, because we believe social workers adopt a more one-to-one approach in dealing with community members.

My next point is that we are better at identifying the kinds of conditions which should be improved within society and altering them, rather than at identifying the psychological factors that are embodied in the sense of community. For instance, we know that there is a consensus in relevant literature that community welfare falls into four main sectors: wealth, employment, health and education. Essentially, we think that if we alter the social structures to provide what we consider are the correct conditions of wealth, employment,health and education, we will achieve the well-being of the community. However, we have not developed very appropriate indicators dealing with the pscyhological health and state of the community - whether people like being in a particular community, or how they feel it has influenced their personal lives.

Again, I want to emphasize Dr. Harman's warning that when we determine the conditions about health, wealth, employment and education, we are adopting indicators from our own cultures and communities. These, however, may not be the ideal indicators for the well-being of other communities.

My third point is that we talk a lot about community involvement, community participation, but in most of the countries we still adopt

a very paternalistic approach. We know best what is good for the community, and the involvement and participation are thought of in terms of people's attendance. As long as they are there, we will provide it for them.

Unless we can find strategies and mechanisms to convince policy-makers of the need to incorporate all the elements of the community in the decision-making process, we are not really dealing with communities at all. For instance, one of the reasons the school has taken over so much of the role of the community and the family, is that there is no community participation in school decision-making. We need school councils, in which parents will not only be asked to raise money, or to attend parent-teacher meetings (where they will be told what to do for their children), but in which they make the decisions as well, and contribute to the process.

Finally, let me leave you with a fairly utopian thought. Maslow, twenty years ago, argued that human needs formed an hierarchy, ranging from basic, physiological needs of hunger and thirst, to higher needs, like self-actualisation and the desire for self-fulfilment. It seems to me that what operates for individuals operates also for communities. Once we have satisfied communities that they and we, together, are fulfilling our basic needs, there will still be the need for community self-actualisation, and that is something we really have not begun to deal with at all.

Excerpts from Participants' Statements and Discussion

Search for Cultural Identity:

"In my country we had to undergo a colonial, cultural change when a white people came to rule us, to teach us their religious beliefs. Whatever they found they suddenly said was 'primitive'. Primitive to whom? The people who had lived for years acting and living the way they wanted suddenly were told 'the clothes you are wearing are primitive, the jewelry you are wearing is sinful, the food you are eating is not palatable', and so on.

At independence, our head of state said, 'A nation without cultural identity is like an empty pod'. We had to overhaul our whole system of life, to seek and reveal what was hidden, to recreate our African traditional way of life. The child would say, 'what is African culture?' You merely say, 'Sing me a song'. Now, through governmental and voluntary participation, we are all talking of 'African culture'. But it takes time. Already there exists a group in the community who live two lives. In the Capital City I am the wife of a university professor. In the rural areas, where I visit my in-laws each week, I am just a woman - I have to go barefoot, I have to carry the water on my head.

Therefore, while we here discuss these matters it should be with a view to the fact that, if we want the children to grow up with a sense of identity, we ourselves must know that some communities have undergone a lot of drastic changes. While we are healing the old wounds, and planning new things, we have to know how to help those that are already in a mess...."

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Standardisation:

"We are prisoners of our own cultures and experiences. Often when we get together, from different cultures and different backgrounds and different nations, we find some basic communication problems just as do those of us who come from the same culture, but from different disciplines. In order to get around that, we have a tendency to do two things: one is to classify, and the other is to compare".

Here the speaker described the reactions of people travelling in a strange country, searching for points of reference, for similarities with their own. "We do this because we can really see things only through the terms of reference to which we are accustomed, and in which each of us is embedded....

Over the past century, within the narrow context of the development of schooling in the West, we have come across a very severe problem, as

mass education has transferred itself from a theory to a reality. We are discovering that there are major differences between children from the same background and from the same culture.... This was manifest in educational theory, an effort to individualise schooling, to focus on the individual child - his needs and characteristics.

However, we found it very difficult to cope with that in the context of education, so immediately after making this very forceful statement in favour of individualisation, we set about standardising. We standardise curricula; we standardise achievement; we examine children on standardised national-norm-achievement tests; we import curricula and we even export achievement tests to the rest of the world.

We are gradually beginning to come to the notion that we should find ways of making operational a 'plurality of excellence', i.e., we should learn to be tolerant of differences, try to disassociate the differences existing within our own culture from these standardised and classified notions. This concept quite obviously needs also to be transmitted in any cross-cultural communication or debate".

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Patterns of Education:

"I wish to describe the education policy in my country, since it reflects the framework referred to by this morning's speaker. Our policy is based on the cognisance of the realities of the community. We divide the country into 'nuclear' areas which share the same characteristics, problems and idiosyncrasies, and then design education programmes in the specific terms of these groups. We do not have just one single master plan for the whole country; the pattern is limited to the level of a division. By taking into account its own culture, its own dialect, we become familiar with the cultural, generative expressions of that specific community, and by the use of these same expressions we teach them to read and write".

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The Shrinking World:

"I am in total agreement with Dr. Harmon when he said that the world is shrinking. This is not a cliche. We are going to find that people who are educated in one community or one country will be working in another community or another country and will be raising their children in another part of the world. This is becoming more and more of a reality and soon all of us will become cosmopolitans. Either we are going to be cosmopolitan in nature or we will become xenophobes - but I don't think, as the world shrinks, that we can afford xenophobes".

The speaker continued with a warning against classification systems in education and health, whereby unrealistic policies were laid down, and 'interpretations-by-cliches' were made. "I hope we don't fall into the trap of looking at cliches and saying, 'Ah, that's the answer to what many of us need to do in our communities'."

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Self-expression:

"I have worked with the youth and children on the streets, at schools and in the universities. At each level there is the same reaction - they feel that we parents, we adults tend to talk too much on their behalf, while they might have different views or other ideas."

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"Using my country as an example, where ideas on raising children are changing, where before, children used to be seen and never heard, now children can answer back. Therefore parents themselves have to reorganise their ideas on the upbringing of their children, to teach them to be vocal in a world where people are expecting them to be heard."

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Pluralism and Policy:

"A contrast was drawn between the suburban child who is supervised and the child who has free rein of the city, wandering about everywhere. It is fair to say that my colleague was talking about a black working-class child because I believe black middle-class children are as confined as the white, so it is not so much an ethnic, as a social class, difference. The main point was that there are certain values and virtues to letting children roam around unsupervised. That is, they become self-reliant at a very early age.

I wish to put this in a policy context of pluralism, that increasing concern with the welfare of children necessarily brings with it increased social controls, and therefore an increasing curtailment of the freedom of children to roam at will. For more than a hundred years, since there is a concern with children and childhood, the tradition has been to curtail children's freedom of the streets in the notion that they need more protection, they need to be watched over more carefully and more things need to be done for them.

Certain values that go with a child's freedom are inevitably going to be lost. This puts before us a very interesting policy dilemma about how children should develop, how much knowledge they should have of the world, at what age, and how carefully their introduction to adult life should be controlled."

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Pluralism and Community:

"Any concept is an integration of many components. When we talk about an urban community, it is not monolithic. There are many sub-communities involved - there is the slum community, the middle-class community, there is the high rise community, and so on.

Every community involves factors dealing with economics and environment and to some extent has political ramifications. One has to take them all into account in whatever programmes and services are provided, but how one does that depends on the particular community and the particular context in which the community is found.

If we are talking about pluralism in the terms of a working-class community existing alongside a middle-class and 'upper' class community, we are talking about a community pluralism and culture. What we do about it, and how we give it its priorities and values will depend on the culture from which we come."

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Speakers were: Carmen Delgado V.; Brigitte Gilles; Camilo Iberico Z.; Gerald Handel; David Harman; Annette Kearney; Geulah Solomon; Alice Wandera.

Tuesday 19th

PLENARY SESSIONS

Areas of Deprivation

Section I - chaired by Somchitt Sritanyaratana

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: A HUMANISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Margaret Varma

Humanistic education, also known as confluent education, signifies an integration or flowing together of the affective and cognitive elements in individual and group learning. Affective refers to the feeling or emotional aspects of experiences and learning (how children feel about learning) and cognitive refers, at one end of the spectrum, to the activity of the mind in knowing an object, and at the other end, to intellectual functioning (what an individual learns, and the intellectual process of learning it).

The affective and the cognitive dimensions are closely inter-related. There can be no cognitive learning without some sort of affect, some feeling being present - just as there can be no feeling without cognition.

The core of Harold Lyon's book "Learning to Feel: Feeling to Learn - Humanistic Education for the Whole Man" is that intellectual development, divorced from human feelings, is empty and meaningless. He believes that educators have been placing too much emphasis on the development of intellectual capacities of children and neglecting the affective or emotional aspect of development - feelings of love, empathy, awareness, fantasy. Lyon stresses that learning can be enjoyed if it is humanised, and that if behaviour is to retain a human quality, the intellectual must be coupled with the emotional.

Humanistic psychology and humanistic education have been developing rapidly in the United States. Humanistic psychology takes an organismic and holistic approach to the study of human beings in the belief that human beings experience the world while learning about it, and from it. Carl Rogers, a leading humanistic psychologist, has stated his great concern for the human dimension in education by emphasizing interpersonal relationships. To Rogers, the most essential ingredient for positive regard - an appreciation of children as human beings, which implies valuing children for their imagination, symbolisation, aesthetic awareness, empathy and reason. Through such a process the initiative for learning and development comes from within the child, and not from

external rewards and punishments. Young children, he says, must be so reached that the great human qualities lying dormant in them, are kindled and developed. The secret of education, says Emerson, lies in respecting the pupil, and, according to Charles Silberman, 'the most pressing educational problem in present times is not how to increase the efficiency of the schools; it is how to create and maintain a humane society'.

Dorothy Cohen, a renowned early childhood educationist and faculty member of Bank Street College in New York, was commissioned to give an IYC address to the nation. This she titled "Helping the Child to become Human". Let me quote some excerpts:

.....The interaction of our children with people and the natural world is the road to social, emotional, moral and intellectual maturing. That road is being bypassed more and more as the criteria for efficient production are applied unthinkably to the education of children. Their need is not for improving efficiency and production rates but for 'growing into humanness';

.....As we grow more and more accustomed to large spaces and vast distances, we must recognise that children think of the minute, the immediate, the concrete;

.....We must not overlook the diverse nature that results in the uniqueness of every child, a uniqueness that is nowhere duplicated and that cannot be remolded;

.....We must not evade the reality that to be human is to feel as well as to think, and that feeling cannot be systematised, packaged or taught. It must be experienced within the context of meaningful inter-action with people and the environment.

Reflecting on these statements, our concern should be how to make our young children more human - how to let learning occur for young children in a humane, individualised manner - how to present to young children science and math and social studies in human ways that are free from sexism, free from racism, free from other narrow, arbitrary routine ways in which the humanness of young children is not allowed to grow, but is diminished.

What are some of the most 'human' qualities of being a human being? According to some studies, the following have been defined as characterising the nature of being human:

1) Cognition or thinking: 'I know, therefore, I exist' - sensing the world through one's perceptual sensory system.

2) Affect or feeling - experiencing emotions.

3) Goal-seeking or doing: conation - pursuing desires, needs, goals. The process of conation enables human beings to integrate and organise behaviour to attain immediate and long-term goals.

4) Personality.

5) Sense of Self: our capacity to see ourselves as distinct entities within our own experiential world.

6) Communication and the sense of others: as we become aware of ourselves, we also become increasingly aware of the presence of others in our world, eventually developing the capacity to put ourselves in the position of others, to see parallels between our experiences and those of others, and enabling us to better understand each other, to share ideas and feelings. Through communication we become a part of a community rather than merely isolated individuals.

7) Cultural Identity. Anthropology and sociology stress that the essence of culture is a symbolic representation of common, shared ideas (language, arts, literature, folklore) handed down continuously from one generation to the next. Therefore, another important aspect of being human is the awareness of our identity with a culture and a sense of belonging to a social group (McDavid and Garwood, 1978).

Children today are faced with several adjustments they must learn to make because of parents' relationships to each other, such as, unresolved conflicts that may result in negative feelings being conveyed to the child, parents' financial problems, their frequent job changes and relocations, divorce, or serious illness or death, which have a profound effect on children.

Recognising that during their growing years children are exposed to a variety of situations and inter-actions with a whole world of people, we adults need to facilitate their growth. A noted educator, Grayson Kirk, affirms that our greatest obligation to our children is to prepare them to understand and to deal effectively with the world in which they will live, and not with the world we adults would prefer to have.

Urie Bronfenbrenner, Professor of Human Development and Family Studies at Cornell University, advocates a 'curriculum for caring' because he feels that the knowledge of the human condition has become academic, and only by being personally involved will people really understand the true human situation.

The U.S. National Institute of Mental Health considers approval and acceptance as the basis on which the first steps in personality development are made, emphasizing that gaining approval and acceptance have a tremendous impact on human beings, not only during the early years, but throughout the life span.

When we face the question 'how can we help young children to be more human', we need to look at their development from a physical, emotional, cognitive, personality, and social point of view. We need to consider the whole human child - we need to define children's needs and then see how we can meet these needs.

Three basic parent-child contracts,which are implicit agreements about mutual obligations for helping in the rearing of children, are mentioned by David Elkind of the Child Study Department, Tufts University, in his recent article in'Psychology Today'(February 1979). These are freedom and responsibility, loyalty and commitment, achievement and support.

How can we help young children become human? By accepting them fully - making them know that they are valued for what they are. This is one of the most encouraging things we adults can do for children.

We can help young children become human by widening their range of experiences - for intellectual development is rooted in exploration, and in order to have experiences that allow or result in exploration, children have to become increasingly independent. Thus, one of the most helpful things we could provide children from infancy on, is a degree of independence - to do as much for themselves as they possibly can - for this kind of confidence is synonymous with real freedom.

We can help young children become human by exposing them to nature. The cells of a honeycomb are brilliant examples of compactness and strength; the shape of a tree, with its spiralling arrangement of leaves is so designed that each leaf has access to sun and rain. We can help young children become human by leaving them alone with the wonders and beauty of life in order that they may discover and know them. We can help young children gain a full awareness of experiences they encounter because a conscious awareness of the world depends greatly on the quality of one's personal response to it.

We can help young children become human by having faith in each child's individual approach to learn at firsthand from materials and to gain from their intrinsic value. When we help young children to acquire a wide variety of ways in which to express themselves, we help them to deepen each moment of their lives, with depth of experience and depth of feeling. The late Golda Meir once said: "Those who do not know how to weep with their whole heart, do not know how to laugh either".

We can help young children become human by helping them gain confidence in adults that are significant to them, so that they can share their deepest experiences. The illness of a pet animal, the death of a grandparent, the radiance of the setting sun - these are experiences which move young children deeply. If they can talk about these and with the help of adults learn how to express and share their feelings of love, hate, jealousy, anger, fear, joy, pain or sadness - then they

are able to reach out and begin to understand what is real in life. Children also need praise, encouragement, discipline and support. Each of these and all of these together build a child's sense of self-confidence.

We must grow together with the children. We must leave ourselves open, receptive to experiences children present us. Do we really listen to children? How often do we emphasize questioning rather than telling? Adults have the responsibility for providing meaningful experiences to children, experiences that will help them to feel as well as to think, for imagination is a prerequisite of sensitivity, and intellect thrives on experience.

Telling or showing young children what to do, giving them information too readily, inhibits their thinking. We must refrain from giving children responses calling for low-level thinking. Instead, we must make efforts to foster children's thinking by providing them with extending, sustaining responses.

Besides listening to young children's verbal language, we also need to be attentive to their body language - their non-verbal language. Are they looking or acting sad? happy? tired? worried? Listening and understanding are very important factors of communication, for they help us relate to children's basic physical and emotional needs. Often young children are not able to find the words to express how they feel. But haven't we adults known times when we couldn't find the words as well?

We must listen to young children's talk, for this is their most human quality, and there is no better way of tuning into what young children make of their world and of the people in it. If we care for children, we must also care for what they are saying to us. Talk is central to learning - it is essential - and yet there still are primary school classrooms where no one is allowed to talk except to answer the teacher's questions. Generally most young children talk very freely, to other children as well as to adults present in their environment. They talk while they are busy playing or working - they talk about important things and sometimes about nothing in particular. Through talk they share ideas and feelings and experiences and their spontaneous, random conversations bring about new experiences, new learnings.

The adult's role is to encourage this sharing, to be supportive in a subtle but positive manner. What we need to remember is that we cannot teach content alone, that human feelings are an integral part of all learning. "A teacher who can arouse a feeling for one single good action, for one single good poem, accomplishes more than he who fills our memory with rows of neutral objects, classified with name and form". (Goethe).

Those who work with young children need to develop a special awareness of the cultural influences which affect the behaviour, attitudes and goals of all children. By valuing a child's culture, and conveying the importance of cultural identity to young children, we could make them feel proud of their heritage.

A very basic human trait is curiosity and this is one aspect of creativity. Creative people are described as being intuitive, perceptive, receptive to new experiences, flexible, spontaneous and curious. However, in many respects, society does not provide our young children with opportunities for furthering their curiosity. Television entertains children while they sit back passively. Some toys keep children idly busy. Economic necessity keeps parents away from children for long hours, thus making them unavailable to answer questions or provide stimulation.

From studies undertaken to discover whether curiosity is an inherited drive, it was found that lack of curiosity in many individuals is apparently not inherited, but learned, for 'stop asking questions' is the 'don't be curious' message children get from many adults.

We can help young children become human by helping them to question creatively and to answer without feeling self-conscious, because many times, we do not have the answers to young children's questions. But we can still listen and appreciate the questions asked. It is said that questions are the engines of intellect, the cerebral machines which convert energy to motion and curiosity to controlled inquiry. There can be no thinking, no purposeful study of the past, nor any serious planning for the future, without questioning.

It is only when we work closely with young children, and realise the depth and value of the experience of knowing them as unique individuals, that we begin to realise that human feelings are the core of all learning, that inter-personal relationships come first.

When we adults have fingers which feel instead of merely touching, eyes which observe instead of merely seeing and ears which listen instead of merely hearing, perhaps we will have helped our children to become human.

To young children we owe many thanks for letting us discover the world again through their unjaded eyes. How many things we would have missed if they had not been around to show them to us. We adults do not really see. A tree is a tree, a brook is a brook, raindrops falling from the sky are just like those that have fallen before. But to young children this is not so.

To them things happen for the first time. The world is born afresh with each new moment.

It was India's poet, Rabindranath Tagore who said:

> "Every child born into the world brings a message
> from God, that he is not yet discouraged with man".

BASIC NEEDS OF CHILDREN

Ruth Selinus

During the International Year of the Child it is important to intensify effort to increase the welfare of the child, especially of the most neglected and disadvantaged groups.

In trying to implement measures to improve the lot of children to bring them nearer the ideas expressed in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the action in each country must depend on the specific needs and on the stage of its development. Some problems that exist in both developing and industrialised countries are similar, but some are different in type and severity.

First, let us talk about the health of the child. In many countries there is a need to improve the health services, especially in the care of the mother and the child. Poor health of the mother may result in babies born with handicaps that will endure for their whole life. In industrialised countries we have specific health problems: alcoholic, narcotic problems, as well as the effects of heavy smoking which has been shown to be very dangerous during pregnancy, both for the mother and the unborn baby.

In most countries there are mother-and-child health services, but sometimes there is a need to improve on these, so that they will be more useful for the community, and available where needed. This last point is important and it should be determined whether the service is available in the more remote areas, and whether the mother is able to make use of the service during the whole year.

Here the community could advise on what the health service should provide - the mother and child should receive medical care, advice and education.

Some countries have developed a service with community workers on the staff, that is, people selected from the village who have received some extra training, and they are in charge of mother-and-child care at the grass roots level. They take care of weighing the children, give simple advice in education and they are also responsible for referral to the nearest health centre whenever needed. The Philippines and Indonesia are among the countries that have already started this kind of community service.

Poor hygienic conditions will make the child more susceptible to infections and infestations that may cause deterioration of health with lifelong consequences.

A malnourished child is more prone to infectious diseases, and these infections will result in more severe malnutrition. This is a vicious circle which we must try to break. Mental health should also be part of the health services.

Lack of safe water is another health problem in many countries, and here we should also consider how many women have to carry the water for long distances, and how that can affect their health.

The second point is nutrition. The right to adequate nutrition as stated in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child is one of the essential components in development. For development in the fullest sense of the word, people must be free from hunger and malnutrition, and all the consequences. According to World Health Organisation statistics of the 1,200 million children living in developing countries, about ten million are suffering from severe protein energy malnutrition. But in addition, 80 million children are affected in its moderate form.

The mortality rate of those children is very high. How many of the children who, as a result of protein energy malnutrition, are becoming physically and mentally handicapped through their whole life is not known.

The best way to follow the development of a child is to weigh children and to record a weight curve. This should start from birth, as we know that low birth weight children are at risk. They have a lower resistance against infections, they have low stores of nutrients at birth - and this may result in early protein malnutrition. The mother can be taught to interpret the growth curve, which will help her to take action if her child is not growing properly. There are many apparently healthy children running around in the village who look perfectly healthy, but their weight curve would show that their growth is not satisfactory.

Breast milk is the most important food for the baby. In many countries there is a decline in breast feeding, in its frequency and duration, often due to unwise influence from the Western society. This has also resulted in an increase in early childhood protein energy malnutrition. Some countries have now started special breast feeding campaigns to try to stop the decline.

There are many more nutritional deficiencies, but I shall speak of only two others. According to the W.H.O., 20,000-100,000 children in developing countries become blind each year due to vitamin A deficiency. This is often due to lack of knowledge of how to utilize available foods, and of what can be done to avoid such consequences.

Iron deficiency-anemia is very common among women and children in many countries. In some, two out of three pregnant women are anemic. This may result in the birth of a baby that has anemia and poor source of iron. The short intervals between pregnancies give the mother no chance to recover or to build up good nutrition stores in the body. Therefore, family planning is an important component in health services.

There are several reasons for malnutrition in early childhood: ignorance, traditional feeding habits which can be bad, poverty, etc. In industrialised countries we have a great nutritional problem also, and that is over-eating which results in obesity, a condition often leading to grave consequences for a lifetime. We should realise that an obese baby often grows into an obese adult, and that this is a danger to health. In developing countries obesity can be seen in the higher income groups because it is a high status sign to be fat.

Education is another point I wish to take up. A child should have the right to free education as stated in the U.N. Declaration. If we examine the world situation we will find that in some countries only a very low percentage of the children go to school. This can be due to lack of schools because of the poor economy of the country, or a too rapid increase of the school population. But sometimes the reason is poor communication - the child simply cannot get to the school.

Even if the child has been a few years in school, he or she may later lose the skill to read and write. This may be due to lack of training - they have no books at home, and there is no environment there for the child to study. I have many times seen children study under a street lamp because they have no facilities at home.

In countries with immigrants it is important to provide special education for such groups to learn the local language. Should we give them help with their home language, which is part of their culture? Without the home language they may lose contact with their culture.

Another point for discussion is nutrition for the school child. Can we expect the child to learn if he or she is hungry? Some children may also be "slow learners" because of protein energy malnutrition. It has been found that children improved at school when a school meal was provided.

Do we need to educate the parents? In extended families the older generation teaches the young family how to care for the children in the traditional way. In many countries, in the nuclear family, the young people may not get proper knowledge of parenthood, or of bringing up children. For this reason we have found in Sweden that we need a training programme for parents. Such programmes started mainly with courses for mothers-and fathers-to-be, but these courses should deal with problems of upbringing of children and with special problems affecting immigrants, also.

Health, nutrition and education of a child are part of the culture in the community into which he is born. This link is especially strong in the extended family in the traditional cultural setting which, however, is in danger of disappearing in the urbanisation process.

The traditional food pattern is part of the culture. It is often based on what is available in the country, and what can be grown there. Therefore we should base any nutrition programme on traditional food.

When people migrate from the rural area to the city or to another country, they may experience problems because the traditional food is not available, or it is too expensive. This can result in nutritional problems, especially for the child and for the poor family. Therefore there is need to include nutrition in all educational programmes for immigrants.

In many countries it is necessary to provide nurseries and day care centres. Here the children are taken care of and they play with others of the same age group. Is this the best way to educate for the future?

In Sweden we are now introducing mixed child care centres with children from seven months to 3 years of age. In this way they will learn to live and play together better.

We also try to get parent participation in the activities. The child needs contact with the older generation. Whenever possible we try to get retired people to visit the child care centres and take part in activities. They can tell stories to the children, they can read to them, play with them. The children are very fond of these visitors, they are like grandparents in an extended family.

The purpose of IYC is not just to have short projects during the year. The objectives of the International Year should stretch far into the future. Therefore how should we plan not only for 1979, but for a good future for the child.

SOMBRE REALITIES

Zalman Gordon

I would like to take a look, with you, at the reality of life for hundreds of thousands of children in the world. Many thousands of them will die this year as a result of over-use of drugs; hundreds of thousands of young girls, beginning at the age of eight and ranging up into the teen-ages will begin their professional life in prostitution in red light districts throughout the world. Scores of thousands of girls from the age of 12, and in some cases younger, will be entering into the cycle of illegitimate births. In many countries we will find thousands of children who will die as a result of being beaten by their parents. Child pornography has become the new 'fad' in some sophisticated countries.

Middle-class delinquency is increasing everywhere. Gangs of delinquents from middle-class families roam the streets of the large cities. We see the problems of juvenile delinquency, of child abuse, of child neglect, as increasingly serious world problems. It is true that the definition of juvenile delinquency is culturally bound, and what is considered 'delinquent' in one society is not necessarily so considered in another.

It is also defined differently in various societies depending on what is considered the age limit of the 'juvenile', but in all societies we find crimes committed by youngsters, already beginning at the age of five, increasing in violence up to the legal definitions of attainment of maturity; in some countries at 18 and in others at 21.

When we look at who is considered delinquent we find an interesting pattern. In world statistics delinquency is heavily concentrated in the poorer class population. But, as a study that was done in Tel Aviv University, by Dr. Menahem Amir, shows such statistics in many cases are not dependable, because what happens here and in many other countries is that when a middle-class child is arrested, the tendency (particularly if it is a first arrest), is to call the parents and settle the case quietly, without opening official police records.

The poorer class child who is arrested for the same first offence is immediately booked and classified as a juvenile delinquent. Dr. Amir pointed out that the probability of a poor child growing up with a police record for the same crime a middle-class child commits, is at least four times as great.

The causes of juvenile delinquency vary from country to country. In immigrant-absorbing countries the problem of cultural clash is one main cause. In some parts of the developing world, the move from the rural

village to the urban city in an attempt to find a better way of life, leads to the breakdown of the traditional village life, and to entrance into the shanty towns and slums.

There are countries in which one in every two marriages ends in divorce - the reasons for middle-class delinquency there are very obvious. As in most societies, (and as we heard from our lecturer from Sweden), the stresses and strains in the early period of marriage often result from lack of training for family life, and this frequently leads to early divorce.

When we try to analyze the main cause of delinquency, we come down to the problems of family life. We find that poverty is not the only cause. Poverty of course 'helps'. It makes the family's fight for life much more difficult. About five years ago in a study made in Jerusalem in a high delinquency street, it was found that in the same area, with the same economic problems, the same social-economic group, door next to door, in one family all the children were delinquent, in another family all the children were going to school or working.

In this survey it was also found that over half of the families in which the children were delinquent were one-parent families. Usually the one parent was the mother who had been divorced, or whose husband had deserted her, or had died, who was trying to raise the children alone. Delinquency also emerged in families where the relation between the parents consisted mainly of physical fighting with each other. In the same economic situation, but with the family functioning as a family, the children did not end up being delinquent.

In middle class areas we know the 'latch-key' child - this is the child who comes home from school with the key to his home on a string around his neck, because his parents are working or are away from home for other reasons. The dinner has been prepared and is in the refrigerator, and after that the child is free to be out on the streets, usually with money his parents left him to do with as he pleases.

The results of a world survey on the problem of juvenile gangs were presented in an Interpol Conference in 1967, in Japan. All countries in the world except the communist countries (that had refused to participate), reported an alarming growth of teen-age gangs. Though 12 years have passed the situation is probably still true. From country to country there were differences in degrees of violence, in the sex ratio within the gang; in some countries the gangs are mainly male, in others they are male and female, but in one respect all the countries agree - that there is an alarming increase in juvenile gangs.

Educators in many countries are trying to deal with the problem, and seek solutions. However, there is no one answer to delinquency, just as there is no one answer to child abuse. Surveys in many countries find that the child who grew up beaten by his parents, beats his children; this has nothing to do with socio-economic class.

We find numerous instances where parents, in their frustration, in their inability to fulfil the role of parent, resort to physical force. Particularly, this is found to happen to the very young group. In teen-age groups there are fewer cases, because these children can hit back, or they can tell.

As I have mentioned before, when we examine the family structure, family breakdowns seem to be the main cause of delinquency. We also find, in many cases, a difference in the regard towards the different children in the same family. There might be a 'black sheep', one child who is neglected, rejected. Then, too, we often have people asking how it is possible that in the same family, with the same biological parents, each child is so different? Of course, with each additional child the group dynamics of the family changes. As the parents gain more experience, their relationship and ability or disability to deal with the children also changes.

Obviously, the attempt to combat juvenile delinquency must take family life into account. Education is necessary to strengthen the family that is not functioning properly. For early identification of high potential juvenile delinquency areas, we usually find warning signs - the girl who runs away from home for the first time, and, in countries with compulsory education, the child who drops out of school.

These are warning signs that may be seen as early as at the age of six, seven, or eight. Other signs may be the link to adult crime for in many countries young children are used in the drug trade by adult criminals, and in some places young children are actually sold by adults into 'white slavery' or prostitution. In many parts of the world young children are being organised by adult criminals to work for them, especially to carry out robberies.

In some countries there is also political use of delinquency - there are places where juvenile gangs break up political meetings of contending parties. All of these are symptoms of social illness in the society.

In this Year of the Child we cannot ignore, we must pay attention to the problems of child abuse, neglect and delinquency, since the cost to society, both from the point of view of financial cost, and most important, of human waste, is much too high for us to ignore. When we speak of the rights of the child, this right to develop, to learn to see the world around him, let us remember that there are many children to whom reality is cruel, evil and destructive.

THE RIGHT TO BE DIFFERENT

Nava Arlosoroff-Por

We have difficulty in understanding and interpreting signs and behaviour of different children who come from different cultures, and even from different environments. By this I mean that in the same ethnic environment we can have a different environment stemming from quite different causes.

We have difficulties in communicating because of the differences, sometimes because we think it is not our responsibility, but quite often because we do not know how to cope with a situation. We go about doing what we are meant to do, in the narrow sense. If we are educators, we pass on knowledge in the school; if we are looking after children in day care centres we often deal with the physical situation, but do not try to interpret other signs we see either because we don't know how, or we think that it is not our job. What happens is that we encounter difficulties right from the beginning in selecting appropriate ways and means for tackling something very complicated, and that is - the child.

Someone said that people are very simple, but that the interrelations between them and others are very complex. I would question this. I would say that the individual in every society, especially in such mobile societies as today's, is very complex, but that we do not have to despair of understanding him. We have to try and match appropriate strategies, appropriate thinking, appropriate programmes, so that we do not have this waste, or at least that we do not have the extent of waste that we have today.

With your permission, I shall go back to the subject of my talk today, hoping that some of these very complicated issues and problems will come up again during the following days in a more informal situation in the workshop.

'The idea that men are created free and equal', wrote D. Reisman in The Lonely Crowd, *'is both true and misleading; men are created different; they lose their social freedom and their individual autonomy in seeking to become like each other'*.

Each child is born unique - a unique combined bundle of hereditary potentialities. However, in striving to achieve equality of opportunities in society and in education we often destroy the freedom of the individual child to enjoy equal opportunities.

In the search for the elusive mean, we often hamper the quality of uniqueness of the child. This precious quality described by Martin Buber

as essential in saving man *'from the danger of collectivism, is also man's most important contribution to society'*. The development of the unique in man is not only important to human growth but is essential to maintaining a healthy democracy.

Plato claimed that in a just society each individual is trained to do the things for which his particular talents suit him. No nation can maintain the distinction of being democratic if it does not make allowances for diversity. Differences should not only be tolerated - but they must be respected and encouraged. As Aristotle declared, it is no more just to treat unequals equally than to treat equals unequally.

In a very interesting book called Freedom and Authority, the author, P. Nash, says, *'If we have power over a child it is encumbent on us to understand and respect the laws of the child's nature and its growth. We must, in a word, have reverence for the child'*, and Bertrand Russell warns us, that we should not abuse our power by trying to 'mould' the young at the expense of 'the individual and strangely precious' that is in every child.

It seems not only appropriate but also most urgent that the International Year of the Child in general, and this Seminar in particular, should concern itself with the fundamental right of the child to be different, and should consider the needs of the different and exceptional child.

I do not think it necessary, in this gathering, to define what is meant by the exceptional child. If we take the strictly academic definition, we talk about the exceptional child as being on the two sides of a curve. The very backward, the child that deviates strongly from the norm in intelligence, and the child on the other side, the child who deviates from the norm by being exceptionally gifted. This is an academic definition which helps us when we teach students, and when we talk to parents it helps us as a starting point.

Although both extremes are being dealt with in various programmes, the difficulty of changing our outlook and looking at the child still remains. But even if we look at both extremes and try to cater to them we immediately tend to group them, which is exactly what we have tried not to do.

It is interesting that most of the evidence produced by psychologists and sociologists in recent years concerning the effect of psychological and social factors on the educational development of the child, has pointed to the need of parents and teachers to provide for the specific needs of the individual child, and to recognise his peculiarities as well as his talents. However, the form in which these findings have been presented has inevitably encouraged the categorisation of children.

Psychologists have long been concerned with individual differences, but their methods have led to an emphasis on group differences such as, the backward, the retarded, the culturally deprived, the gifted, the immigrant and so forth. The knowledge gained about the various groups is of course important to the teacher who is educating their members. However, in the process of the education of the group, the teacher often loses sight of the child himself, and tends to put him under a 'label' looking for difficulties associated with the group, whereas the difficulties often stem from the child's individuality. However, every perceptive parent and teacher knows that no two cases are the same, and certainly no two members of different cultures have the same problems.

If we maintain that a child has the right to be recognised and treated as a unique person, then our key problem is: how best to learn to use the understanding and knowledge we have gained, to help cater for the individual needs and difficulties of the child - in his family, in his school, and in various environments. Both research findings and experience in the field indicate that effective innovation must be accompanied by attitudinal changes, and by an understanding of the origins of the child.

Yesterday we were given some very good examples of the unique cultural influences on the patterns of child rearing, and also on the different interpretations of behaviour of children.

Now we must consider not only the cultural patterns and behaviour, but also the difficulties imposed by the modern mobile world upon the child. He is quite often thrown into a totally different environment and different culture in a classroom, in which the other children also come from several different cultures, and yet, where the teachers and the curricula are still one-culture oriented. (In our case it is the western culture). But we have other examples of the child having to cope and struggle on the one hand, and on the other, the teachers being told that they must develop the child's individuality.

The difficulties encountered by both partners often result in the same sort of problems and hardships that we heard in such cool and realistic terms on the health side, and on what the preceding speaker had to tell us.

Now I would like to present to you two models we have used recently in Israel. I have intentionally chosen not the national models but models that, with variations, could be adapted to different situations, since they have one rationale in common. They stem from the belief that if we want to resolve these difficulties we have to work on the interrelations between children from different cultures on all levels simultaneously.

The first one deals with bringing together gifted children from 'advantaged' and 'disadvantaged' environments in a particular relationship. It is interesting to note that in many countries, including mine,

the highly gifted child is very often misunderstood, and also denied his basic rights to be unique and his basic rights to get the right kind of nourishment (if we talk of health nourishment we can talk of nourishment in other ways). A child can die if he does not get the right kind of nutrients; a child can die spiritually and in many other ways, if he does not get the right educational, psychological nourishment. So we find that we often term him just as 'educationally disadvantaged' as we define other children whose disadvantages may be social or economic. In our country we usually refer to them as 'disadvantaged' children.

The unrealised potential of these children was motivated in Israel recently by a variety of programmes, since we can not have just one answer to our educational problems.

One of these programmes is of special classes for the gifted and I shall now present a model we devised for educating the highly gifted children from both the disadvantaged and advantaged social economic strata, in a cooperative learning situation. In this case, twenty-five highly gifted children were brought together in the special class, in an intermediate school where we actually have full integration. We have devised a model in which these pupils work on a one-to-one basis, in the neighbouring primary or elementary school of disadvantaged children, reinforced by the preparation that we have given them of how to work on different levels with individual children, and perhaps of what to expect from them.

We planned that they should choose topics of interest to the children they were tutoring that are not directly related to the curriculum, and in this way stimulate the disadvantaged children who, we believe, have the same curiosity, the same desire to find answers to problems which are opened to them, just as they are open to the middle class child.

These children work on the cognitive aspect of learning, sharing the learning experience. The pupils who were tutoring were asked to plan creative activities - making up games, playing games with the young children, on the assumption that many of these children do not get the right kind of emotional support at home, for various reasons. Many of the children don't know what it is to play with their parents - an experience recognised as an essential need which, in some cultures, nobody questions. Quite often games that are played in the so-called western society, in this country, are not even known to young children who come from a different culture. But now, they don't stay only in their culture. School brings them together, and so we thought it important to bring them together in the play situation as well. Fifteen minutes of story-telling was part of this activity. And how many children don't know what it is to hear a story read to them! Perhaps you will say it is not important, but in some cultures it is an essential part of language development. So we have this diversity.

For our gifted children we had other objectives. We wanted them not only to contribute to other children, but to learn about children who are

younger than themselves, who have different problems, and to share the exciting discovery about everything, not only the cognitive. We have worked with this model for a year, and at the end we found that the children on both sides had become emotionally attached to each other. It answered the initial doubts expressed by the teachers that the ages don't fit, that older pupils tutoring the younger wouldn't work, that because of the difference in ability, the gifted children would get bored, that the younger children wouldn't understand, they wouldn't have a common language, and what good would it do?

What we found at the end was that it did work. The attachment that started at school continued after school, in the families. The older gifted children made their own discoveries and formed their own opinions. One girl said, "I found 'my child' no different from my brother, who is the same age". A very good starting point. She went on - "but it is very strange how this child never talked about his friends, or his family". And she added, with insight "it seems to me that he doesn't feel he belongs, he doesn't seem to belong to his family. He never refers to them. What do you make of it?" And we discussed it.

The stereotypes exist but there are group differences and individual differences. When we match children on a one-to-one basis and they are so different, then I feel that we have hope of beginning to understand not only the stereotype, but how the 'different' child functions, and and how he interacts with other children from other cultures living in in the same area and environment.

We hope to extend this model, in variations next year, because we believe that understanding should begin between children.

The second model I shall mention is a national one. From the talks that have taken place at this Seminar we have found that many of us have some problems in common. One of these is really a problem emerging from the modern mobility of society, that of integration versus segregation. We believe - and it is a social as well as an educational aim in this country - that unless we cope with it, we will not be able to exist. We now think that it is not enough, it is too late to start in the intermediate school. It is not enough to bring children together physically. It will not help, unless we again select appropriate and special measures of helping the children.

In a research project in Jerusalem integration was started in the first year of the primary school, between the children of typical middle and upper class environment and a typical disadvantaged area. Because the neighbourhoods bordered geographically, the school was located in the middle. It was found that during several years of working in this manner, on a mainly individual basis, achievements improved. Academic achievement was better when the children worked on an individual basis. In an informal situation, children from various backgrounds could learn and work together. But when academic methods were formal, then there

was no meeting point in learning and no benefit of integration. This was a very sophisticated research by all criteria, very promising and, I think bearing interesting results.

However, it is not enough to stay within the school. We have to go with our findings, simultaneously, to the places which train teachers and train workers. Very often, the better the lecturers become, academically, the farther they go away from the problems with which they are training their students to cope. We must relate research to reality by actually going to test our research findings and our hypotheses in the field.

We now have another national programme which seems promising. We offer scholarships to university students if they will go once a week to developing areas that have multi-cultural populations, and work on a one-to-one basis with a child (within his family), a child that is considered 'different', a child that the teacher believes would benefit from such a relationship, on any level. This includes the gifted, the slow, or the handicapped, or any other child which was found to be different.

This sort of attention not only helps the families and the children in the multi-cultured community, but it helps the students who are working on this scheme. It has also recreated involvement of the university teachers and lecturers in the attempt to understand the problems, and to pass on some of their learning to those areas.

Many programmes, and many courses are being taught in different environments, and the findings come back to the universities. Here we have not only a two-way track but many tracks of communication which will add meaning to modern programmes of integration, and will still emphasize the right of the child to be himself and to maintain this precious quality.

Section II - chaired by Carmen Delgado Votaw

RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Sindhu Phadke

The morning discussion has really provided a very good background for examination of some factors that may possibly impede the exercise of human rights. At the very outset I wish to say that the views expressed here are may own. I am not representing my organisation. What I am saying is in my own personal capacity.

There was a great deal of discussion about what we considered the real requisites for a healthy development of a child - the normal or the handicapped child, or the child who has very special problems. It seems to me that throughout this discussion the one recurrent theme is that we are beginning to come to an agreement on the rights themselves, and on some of the minimum prerequisites. There is also a reasonable degree of agreement that there will be variances in their specificity, or in the manner by which these rights may be assured.

The very fact that we have to reiterate and declare the Human Rights Convention time and again, means that there are very many people who are deprived of these rights.

Ironically enough, as far as children are concerned, we seem to have become much more aware of the rights of children as a separate need that must be met, and twice this has happened immediately after world wars. And it is significant, because it is not as though all children do enjoy these rights normally. There are millions of children who do not even have the right of survival.

We might quickly go over the history of this Declaration of Human Rights. The assembly of the League of Nations in 1924, after the First World War, published a statement of what might be considered 'The Rights of the Child'. But we seemed to have forgotten about it for a number of years. It took another holocaust, the Second World War, for us to become much more aware of what children need as their basic prerequisites. So it was only after the Second World War that it was suggested that this Declaration be revived, and then it took nearly another 15 years before we came to accept this Charter of the Rights of the Child, in 1959.

There was discussion about what kind of sanction there should be for this Declaration. Most of the countries that participated in these talks said that it should be a Statement of Principles, and that the individual countries should decide how to implement and ensure those principles.

The very fact that we, today, talk about the Rights of the Child shows a significant recognition of the fact that children, because of their physical and mental immaturity, need special protection, that it is not enough to have a Declaration of Human Rights, but that a special declaration to protect rights of the child is essential. When we think in terms of allocations, of priorities that the different nations assign for children, we can see the degree of the concern for the generation that is to come.

The contents of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, deal with basic needs such as nutrition, medical care, requirements for mental development, education, recreation and play. They also make mention of the need for love and understanding, the factor to which a great deal of discussion was devoted this morning. The preference people have expressed for a child to be brought up with his parents within the family, is included in this document.

There is also mention of the fact that we ought to bring children up in an atmosphere of peace, and of human brotherhood. I think this is a clear recognition of the travail and anguish through which the world has passed, and that we do not want it to continue.

Protections are suggested against abuse and neglect. Apparently we tend to take them so much for granted, it almost requires a jolt for us to realise that many children do not enjoy these basic rights at all.

In my country there are about 30 million children considered to be in the work force, in one way or another, almost 80% in agricultural labour. Not all of them are working for an employer, other than their own parents, but the fact remains that most of these children are denied the right to be just children, and at an age when they should be going to school, or having a chance to play, they are engaged in productive occupations.

I am not suggesting that all work is bad, or that all these children are abused or neglected, but among these working children there is a large number who work in conditions which are considered hazardous, and injurious to their development.

One other major protection I should refer to is special care and education for children who suffer from physical or mental handicaps. It is the responsibility of each country to provide the special care, and this has been a very important recognition of our concern for their handicap. Dependent and delinquent children are also included in this category, or any child who needs special protection. I wish to go on to some of the ways in which these declarations can be made meaningful, in terms of assuring these rights to the children.

One quite common way by which the different countries attempt to do this, is by legislation. We have laws covering different categories of children, and what must be provided as their right. An example

would be laws restricting employment of children below a certain age, in mines and factories. There are also provisions that require a child to be examined and found medically fit before he can be employed. Working hours are restricted, wages are regulated, and there are a number of ways in which the children are protected against possible exploitation and abuse.

Now while these laws exist, I think that there are many other things that are necessary in order to make sure that such rights are really enjoyed by the children.

Just to follow the same example - it requires a whole machinery for implementation, which some countries may not have at all. In the case of a country which has a population of hundreds of millions, if it does not have a systematic birth registry, there is practically no way of ensuring that a child below the age of 14 is not employed. If a factory inspector questions the age, and if a false certificate is produced, can do nothing about it. Then there is also the problem of factory inspectors or of parents being party to violations. There are also parents who connive at it because they cannot forgo the child's wages. Such factors really nullify even a very carefully designed legislation.

Let us take the Right to Education. We have something that is rather unique, to my mind. In 1974 India adopted what is now known as the National Policy on Children. So far we have had industrial policies, a policy for agriculture, but this is the first time we ever had a policy for children. This policy enunciates that all children up to 14 must be given free education. But what do we have as a way of implementing this provision? We have about 180,000,000 children who must be provided with schooling, but we do not have so many schools. Almost 89% of primary school-age children are now enrolled in some kind of a school; the figures will be somewhat lower at the middle and the secondary level.

There are many children who may be enrolled in schools, but who drop out because of the kind of education they receive. In many ways it is not relevant to a large number of children who live in the tribal areas; it does not prepare them for any way of life. So a great deal of work has yet to go into designing education programmes that will retain the interest of these children, and then they will be assets to their families, and their communities. As for the case of social values - in our society, largely (I am not talking of urban middle class so much, but other classes), a girl's education is often definitely considered less important, so if it is a choice between a boy's education and a girl's education, preference is given to the boy.

Most of the girls are withdrawn from schools at the end of the primary school to look after the younger children when the mother is off to work, or she is required to take on a number of household chores.

Let us take another legislation that we have carefully defined. There are really very few loopholes that any one could find. The law covers children who are destitute, who are abandoned - a subject of neglect or exploitation.

Now, the Act provides that if a child is found in any of these circumstances where his interests are endangered the State has the right to withdraw the child, and put him in another environment with a substitute guardian or institution.

But if one looks at the kind of institutions there are for these children, most of us would not want to send children there. So you have very limited choices. When you find the child who is subject to neglect because the parents are too poor and both of them have to work, or they are ignorant, or sometimes one of the parents is constantly in or out of jail, and the mother trying very hard to somehow make ends meet, what do you do if you do not have a good substitute care available?

We also have a legislation called the Child Marriage Restraint Act. About 50 years ago we had a custom of marriage for children as young as seven or eight years, and sometimes as soon as they were born they were betrothed and married off. There is a legislation now that prevents marriage of girls before they are 16, which is now being raised to 18; 21 is the minimum for the boys.

But what is the actual situation? In many families there is a custom that the girl should be married before she reaches puberty. If her father did not manage to get his daughter married by that time, it is a matter of loss of prestige. So he would desperately try to get the daughter married. There is very little that you can do to take legal action, for in most cases neither the in-laws nor the parents are convinced of the need for such a legislation, and they would not cooperate with the law.

Sometimes prejudices, customs, social conditions, are also very important factors to reckon with, and I think that while such legislation has its value in terms of educating public opinion (no one would really deny that we needed an act like this) there are still limitations to its implementation.

A very formidable handicap to ensuring the rights of the child is the socio-economic environment. The numbers, and the level of poverty, defeat any effort to protect the child.

Even if it is as basic as the right of survival, you know that many women do not have access to the most elementary facility for delivery. So the child is exposed to a number of hazards deriving from an unsanitary environment, unhygienic practices at the time of delivery, poor nutrition, and thus we are not yet able to ensure this very basic right to children.

I would like to move on here to a few comments about what UNICEF is doing about the rights of children. I think that in our own modest way we have done quite a bit to ensure their basic rights, especially in the area of nutrition and health. We are useful in the sense of arousing the interest of national governments in protecting children against malnutrition and other hazards to health. This happens to be one of the major areas of UNICEF. It has moved a long way from the time when it considered itself as primarily an agency geared to disasters and emergencies - and rushed in aid of children to save them whenever there was a drought or famine, or wars.

We have moved from that, and now most of our assistance is geared to long term development. We no longer are confined to disasters (although this work continues). In the last couple of years we have assisted in three or four major disasters, in the flood havoc that took place in India last year, and in another very major calamity - when about ten million Bangladesh refugees came to us and that had to be coped with.

In this area of aid I can say with reasonable pride that UNICEF has been instrumental in mobilising the resources way beyond what UNICEF itself could marshall - the resources of national governments and voluntary agencies, to bring to bear on protecting the children who are victims of disaster.

We are going to do a lot more about drinking-water supply; we are also interested in food technology such as nutritionally balanced mixes composed of indigenous foods. UNICEF has taken steps to interest governments to develop such mixes, so that when supplementary feeding on a mass scale, or in emergencies, is needed such foods can be quickly provided.

Part of our role will still continue to be assistance for children, and in this we are beginning to make some impact by arousing the local communities, regional governments, or national government, to become much more keenly aware of the nature of children, and of what might be done by working together. UNICEF was given a Nobel Prize for its contribution towards promoting cooperation in this area.

Making nations interested in getting together, in cooperative effort, putting their heads together to solve the problems of countries which need this kind of assistance, is a tremendous contribution.

Excerpts from Participants' Statements and Discussion

Laws and Working Children

The National Institute of Labour Studies in my country made a survey of children, between the ages of 6-13, who work independently in the city streets, markets and other public places. Many are vendors, selling chewing gum, flowers, toys, newspapers, lottery tickets. Others earn money by unloading food trucks for the markets, washing cars, shining shoes, etc. The objective of this survey was to prove that the children were obliged to earn a living in order to survive. This need could have many causes and be of different degrees of severity; it could relate to the family or to the individual child.

We have 66 laws and regulations to protect the rights of the child, in all aspects, yet when it comes to labour, the legislation just cannot be implemented.

By law, children below the age of 14 are not permitted to work as employees. Yet the under-14's are working independently, and the law does not cover this situation. These children are victims of a paradox. In trying to protect them, the law has forced them to work on their own, and since they must survive, this seems to be their only alternative.

Since children in developing countries enter the labour force at an earlier age than in the industrial societies, they must be protected in their work.

The group of children surveyed belong to a part of the population which is economically active but underemployed. They have a sense of family responsibility, their behaviour is not anti-social. Sometimes they study and work at the same time. Their having to work could be considered a phenomenon of social pathology, an outcome of the unjust and warped organisation of society. This phenomenon cannot be resolved through legislation; it could only be solved if the social and economic conditions of the country would change.

Yet the children should be protected, educated, and trained, as an investment for the future, because in a few years they will be the economic support of their country. We must help the children to become free - free to find their own answers.

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Responsibilities in Child Rearing

It was suggested that delinquency often occurs in broken families, or in families where the mother works. Traditionally it has always been said that it is the woman's fault, for society tends to judge the woman severely. We must initiate a dialogue towards more equitable sharing of responsibilities by men and women. It is important to remember that men can also be a source of love and tenderness and support. It is not just the woman's fault if she is unable to fulfil completely her function as a mother.

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Regarding my statement about the high proportion of delinquency in single parent families, the point made was that when the woman, alone, is trying to bring up the children and support herself, it is a very difficult situation. Therefore the implication is that the whole family, both husband and wife, father and mother, are necessary for the proper functioning of both units, so that the child may grow up as an able citizen (the lecturer).

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A picture of a polygamous home, still prevalent in a number of African countries, was given by a participant: "This is the home with many wives and many children, belonging to the same man, a home where competition is often the normal thing, usually among the children of one mother against the children of another mother. In such a home the average earnings of the father cannot provide for all of them. It therefore becomes the duty of the mother to bring her children up in the way she wants. She has to work extra hard to be economically strong, to pay their school fees in a community where schooling is not free, to clothe her children and sometimes to feed them if the 'communal pot' cannot feed them as well as she would like. The elements of competition, jealousy or envy can be disruptive, for children must struggle for a shared existence from an early age.

But there is also the good aspect of polygamy, when a woman is in a compassionate 'mix' (the group of wives) and the wives realize that they have to pool forces to survive in the matrimonial home. In this case the children grow up in a happy atmosphere and when they are older, you see this same friendly atmosphere extended outside the family circle.

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New Family Structures

We are all aware of the breakdown of the family and that some children will not have the security of a family. At this point we should be looking for alternative forms of models, especially father models. One of my colleagues said that previously we were able to find substitute father figures in the schools, among the teachers. This does not happen so often now, not in schools, nor elsewhere in the community, but we are still trying to find some other models. I believe the kibbutz here in Israel is doing it satisfactorily. We also heard here that perhaps boarding schools may be an answer for children from broken homes. In my country we are moving away from big institutions to little units and we are not employing only female house mothers, but the mother and father together.

While we can of course stop some families from breaking down, I believe we have to be thinking in terms of creating new family structures, new models, new experiences.

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Family Education

May I draw attention to one factor that we have not emphasized. Each child has the right to be born wanted and loved, and to be well fed and clothed. I don't think it's fair to bring children into the world if you don't want them. What I am driving at is family planning education.

At this time we should be very concerned, because we have more children in the family than we can well feed, more than we can well clothe. This is what we have to think about if we are thinking about children....

Those of you who are involved in policy making on children should take into consideration the children that are going to be born when you are making such policies, and their future. Because once we bring children into the world it is our responsibility to see that they are well cared for, they are well loved, well educated, and that, I think, is a bigger programme than planning to have what you can adequately care for.

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In response to this comment, I wish to point out that in a society where the number of children that a man or a woman has is regarded as the wealth of that man or woman, the idea of family planning is difficult to accept.

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The following excerpts are from a discussion which took place after a workshop report on children's schooling.

Integration of Handicapped Children

Last year a law was passed in my country, stating that handicapped children were to be integrated into regular schools. Our classes usually have about 20 pupils, but if there are handicapped children in the class the number goes down to 18 or 17, and instead of one teacher there are two. For the other children their being there is important. They treat the handicapped child as a friend and not as a different child, but it is very hard to cope with the parents of the normal children, who don't think of it in the same way.

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We have found that the physically handicapped and retarded children are better accepted by their peer group when they are integrated into special units in regular primary schools. With the special facilities in the regular schools, these children gain experiences in the same way that normal children do.

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We feel that the children of a community must face the fact that some children are born with certain limitations, whether physical or mental. A normal child should know the facts of life, tackle them and accept them as they are. In each of our large communities the handicapped children are integrated into regular schools. They are given a few hours out from the regular classes to attend special schools which have the equipment and trained teachers necessary to provide the help they need, but spend the rest of the day with the others.

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'Mainstreaming' also seems to be the popular model in my country right now. In this system handicapped children are placed, according to their abilities, together with other children, and then are given [illegible] help like speech therapy, physical therapy, occupational therapy, etc. It will probably prove more effective with the children who start in the lower grades, than with older children who have been isolated for years and are suddenly placed with other children.

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Better Teachers

Children have a right to good education or, to rephrase it, to better teachers, since better education means better teachers. As I understand it, teachers work under very inadequate conditons and, in developing countries like ours, some labourers make more money than university professors. I also think that preschool educators should be paid more; furthermore, they should receive better training and be given better conditions so that they can be better teachers.

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It is easy to fall into the trap of blaming teachers for all our problems, to tag on to teachers the responsibility which we would have liked to pass on to parents but which the family is no longer able to carry. We expect teachers to be everything to all people - to do not only the job for which they have been employed, but also to be psychologists, therapists, social workers, counsellors, administrators and community development workers. Even if teachers would be given better training and the appropriate conditions to fulfil the aims that schools have given them, I doubt that they could be trained to do all those other jobs in a professional way.

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Another aspect of this problem is that teachers are unionized now, and say that they will not touch school meals, or extra-curricular activities. Other people, therefore, are employed to do these jobs. But, in a country that can't afford to pay all of these specialists, how can we cope with all of the problems? So we are back to square one.

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Perhaps we should be thinking about solutions in terms of new support structures. This may be done by developing wider volunteer systems and a more extensive system of para-professional help for the professionals who are also involved in counselling and so on. It need not be an expensive process to produce new support workers.

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It is agreed that teachers have to be given smaller classes. It should also be stressed that they should have continuous education - a life long educational system for teachers. I don't believe that anyone of us thinks that a teacher who has graduated from a seminary or even has two or three university degrees can continue to teach for years without learning new methods.

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As a psychiatrist I can tell you that there is a high rate of emotional maladjustment among teachers - and the children will be in their hands. I believe that we should try to minimise the damaging influence this may have on children.

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Parent Education

In my country we have evening schools for parents, both in urban and rural regions, where series of lectures are given on childhood and adolescence. Parents have the chance to put forward themes that they want to discuss. In this way we try to help parents to rear their children in a better way, and to become acquainted with the new trends in education. Also there are fixed hours when parents can visit the schools to discuss with the teachers the special problems of their children. They are able to observe the classes and afterwards discuss with the teacher what they saw and what problems arose.

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Speakers in the discussions were: Anne Akpofure, Delfina D. de Archer, Nava Arlosoroff-Por, Mina Ben-Zvi, Edilia Coelho G., Joya Cole, Carmen Delgado V., Gladys Ekuban, Margherita Fornara P., Zalman Gordon, Annette Kearney, Nina Koumanakos, Audrey Owino, Sindhu Phadke, Norma Roach, Neora Shafer, Geulah Solomon, Demetrios Stylianou, Bee Wan Tan, Margaret Varma, Alice Wandera, Atalay Yorukoglu.

Thursday 21st

PLENARY SESSIONS

SECTION I - chaired by Camilo Ibérico Zumaeta

CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN DIFFERENT CULTURES

Studies of children growing up in four distinct cultures, in Singapore, Colombia, Kenya and Israel, were presented during the morning session.

BEE WAN TAN - "Mine is a case study of a Singapore child growing up in a Chinese family. I wish to show how this child maintains his or her Singaporian Chinese identity and ethnic culture, within the complex multi-racial population of our society, of which the Chinese form 76 percent.

In the Singapore approach, there is not one specific programme for Malay, another for Indian or Chinese, etc. Our programmes are meant for everyone, and yet through this process a lot of us still maintain our own ethnic identity. To illustrate, I chose an average-income family, since I come from such a family. I could not fully identify with the lower or higher income groups.

First of all, I would like to share with you some basic information. Our functioning Singapore culture is based on multi-racialism, which embodies the sentiments and values of all ethnic groups that live in Singapore - the Chinese, Malay, Indian and European. Multi-racial ideology accords equal status to all the four cultures and ethnic identities. Our system is based on what we call meritocracy; it depends very much on how much one achieves.

For the past decade, this ideology has been (and will continue to be) a powerful force against ethnic discrimination. Furthermore, to ensure that multi-racialism will continue, the majority of Singapore school-children receive an ethnically integrated and nationally standardised education. You will find Chinese, Malay, Indian and others studying in the same classroom and using English as the common medium of instruction because, to a certain extent, it is an international language. Singapore has only its manpower to lean on; we do not have natural resources, we depend on commerce and tourism to survive, so we must also teach our people a language that they can use outside.

Although multi-racialism is our functioning culture, in their own domestic sphere the various ethnic groups maintain a sufficient degree of cultural differences. For example, the Chinese families with their own dialects for communicating with the children, celebrate the Chinese festivals, participate in ancestor worship, cook in different styles, and so forth.

In our country babies are usually breast fed for the first two months, then bottle fed, since the mother has to return to work, and our maternity leave is only 2 months. Then the child is either 'fostered out' or a substitute 'caretaker' is employed to look after him.

Usually, in the case of a Chinese family, this caretaker is also Chinese, and she may teach the child a different dialect from that used by the parents. If the parents belong to a middle working class they will usually speak English with their children, while the grandparents will teach them their own dialect or mother tongue. Thus, the child learns many dialects or languages at an early age.

Participation in the Chinese festive season not only reaffirms ethnic identity but also transmits values and Chinese beliefs and superstitions. The tradition is that during this season, the Chinese children pay respect to grandparents, parents, uncles and aunts, which teaches them respect for elders. They are told that during this holiday season they wear gay-coloured clothes for luck, and that they must avoid breaking things, for that will bring bad luck.

In the Chinese family, if both parents are working (which is the present trend), economic and domestic roles are usually shared. In the present generation, the Chinese father plays a more active role in child rearing, as well as performing his instrumental and authoritarian role. This is partly due to the effects of education, partly to lack of outside help in a nuclear family, and also because of change in attitudes and expectations. Chinese wives are no longer expected to play only the emotive and socialising roles, since these are now shared by the husband and also because the socialising role is being increasingly carried out by caretakers, or by crèches and educational institutes.

To a certain extent the socialising role is also undertaken by the State, by its emphasis on the development of a Singaporian image, and by promotion of campaigns for courtesy, cleanliness, healthy living and so forth.

The child grows up in an urban environment. He lives in a high-rise flat with his parents and siblings and learns to play and explore within its limited scope. He is entertained by such things as mechanical toys, books, and outings to shopping centres.

From the ages of 5 to 6 most of the children will be sent to kindergarten. At the age of 7 the child will enter primary school which is free, though not compulsory. Every school child is expected to learn

two languages, Chinese and English, or Malay and English. In secondary school, affiliation with a peer group increases. With his newly acquired knowledge and ideas, the youth's perception of many things changes, especially in areas of superstitions or beliefs. He begins to question his parents and, if he is unable to obtain satisfactory answers, he may question their values. Sometimes this results in closer identification with his peer group. A peer group, especially one having English education, tends to adopt the latest trends, which are mostly Western imports. This often begins with Western attire and can sometimes result in a rejection of the values implicit in the traditional attire.

The rapid social and economic changes in Singapore have modified the traditional Chinese parental roles and the overall functions and objectives of the family. This is partly due to modernisation and urbanisation, and also to changes in the other societal systems. The Chinese concept of a large family has given way to the two-child norm as a result of national family planning campaigns, the need for parents to work, and also the increasing expenditure in bringing up children. However, the expectation that children will look after their parents when they are old is still prevalent. Since both parents work and will have their own pensions when they reach old age, they do not expect the children to support them financially, but they do expect emotional support.

On the whole, one can notice that the Singapore Chinese family has a blending of Western cultural elements, Chinese, and other. The value system or ethics for living tends to be based on Confucian philosophy, whereas for daily survival it tends to be west-oriented, i.e., achievement, individual material success, and capacity to control and direct one's destiny, in both personal and social spheres."

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CARMEN DELGADO VOTAW - "I am not an expert in the fields of social service or education, but I can provide some insight on a situation in Colombia, of a specific group of children called the 'gamines' (street waifs).

Before entering into the problem, let me give you some statistics on children in Latin America. Latin America is a conglomerate of countries - each with a very distinctive cultural identity, but stemming from one common heredity, derived from the times of the Spanish colonisation. I will refer only to the Spanish speaking part of Latin America and not to the Caribbean Islands where English is spoken. Although they are our brothers, they have pronounced differences from the rest of Latin America.

At present 53% of the girls and 70% of the boys, between the ages of 6-11, attend primary schools in Latin America, 28% of the girls and 42% of the boys attend secondary schools. These figures become more

significant when compared to those of developed countries. The girls in developed countries even have an advantage, since 85% of the girls, compared to 84% of the boys, attend secondary schools.

The International Labour Office has found that about fifty-two million children in the world work, at least part-time, and in Latin America it is estimated that three million children work, although I'm sure it is much more.

Let us look specifically at the situation in Colombia. I am not speaking on behalf of the Colombian people, but you must understand that this should be taken as a personal experience which I have lived through. Colombia is a country of 23,500,000 inhabitants of which 10,700,000 are children. The per capita income is $ 578 per year. Nearly all the population in Colombia is Catholic. They are profoundly religious people and a people with values.

Ten years ago, 65% of Colombia's population were living in the rural areas, but this had changed within ten years to a 62% urban population. This migration to the urban areas has created the phenomenon of the 'gamine' child. Today in the streets of Bogota, there are small groups of abandoned children living together with a common destiny, trying to find subsistence for survival.

In a way of life where the man is always the central figure, a woman who is separated from her husband will look for another man. Divorce is not accepted and often this new man will reject the children of the original marriage. The child, feeling completely rejected, leaves for the street, because in the family he does not find the support which he needs. These street children soon acquire a sense of identification among themselves because everything depends on the group. They sleep in the streets at night, cuddled together and covered by newspapers. Individually they may move throughout the city from place to place, but generally at night they know where their group is and where other groups are found. They seem to have an implicit sense of territory. The government takes care of many of these children, but not in proportion to the need.

Some institutions have been created to try to solve this problem and it was found that, if these children are taken to other towns or cities inside Colombia, they disappear from the streets. It is only in Bogota that they become destitute; in other cities the Colombian people immediately absorb them. So we see that the disequilibrium is severe only in the Bogota area. The most effective programme I have found that is attempting to solve this problem was one created by a parish priest, who called it 'The Park of Florida', or 'The City of the Gamines'. This system attempts to give the child, by stages, both the social and cultural identity that he needs, and it provides this in such a way that the sense of liberty, felt by these children after learning to survive in the streets on their own, is not violated.

It is a five step programme, but so far only the initial steps have been tried. The first is to find these children in the streets, and to convince them to come to a special centre. Nothing is expected from them at this centre; the child can come and look for a pair of pants, or food. He can come to fulfil any of his needs, with no compromise whatsoever. He is not made to feel that restrictions will be imposed on him. The children are invited to go to open air concerts, or to parks, and little by little they begin to accept these activities without feeling that their liberty is being threatened.

The second stage is when the child realises that the street is not the only place that provides support for his social needs. Once he finds that sleeping in the streets makes him tired the next day, he will prefer to sleep at the residence where he can come at eight in the evening and leave at six in the morning. At this stage the child begins to be involved in certain activities, and here the process of social dynamics begins. The centre has created an awareness of certain rules that he has to follow, and these prepare him for the third stage.

Before explaining this step, in which the child will have to decide for himself which type of life he wants,I shall tell you a story of an experience I had while visiting one of these centres. I overheard three 'gamine' boys playing in the street. One said that the police had nearly caught him trying to sell drugs. 'I was hungry, I needed money to buy food'. The other boy answered, 'You must have more practice, to learn to run quickly'. While they were planning their tactics, an elegant lady drove up in a chauffeur-driven car. The car stopped to let her take her little dog out for a walk. The children heard the woman say to the driver, 'I really must take my poor doggie to the doctor. He hasn't been eating well'. At that, one of the boys threw himself down yelling, 'I want to be a dog'. One might think it extraordinary for a child to want to be a dog, but this illustrates the situation of the 'gamine' children that I saw.

Let us now look at the third step of the programme. The child arrives at a stage where he is given the possibility to decide whether he wishes to belong to the centre or not. He has come to know that to be accepted by a society, he has to fulfil certain requirements and follow certain rules. In choosing to stay at the centre, the child makes a social contract with a system that requires him to be at a certain place, at a certain hour, to do a certain job, to fulfil a certain function - to live according to the norms of a certain environment. Here we find the beginning of a community process in which the children are part of the system which will regulate their behaviour. In this system they will decide on the rules as a group, and the group will decide what to do when these rules are not obeyed. The child himself helps to generate this system, with which he has made a compromise. Because he takes part in this process, he feels a sense of obligation towards its fulfilment.

After six months at such a centre, he is ready to be sent to the 'city of the gamines', located outside of Bogota. He will live within a complete community, where everything is done to help him provide for his own needs. Here the child starts to work and to earn money. He can choose to study such things as carpentry, gardening, mechanics, etc. It is in many ways like a commune, but he receives a wage for his work and whoever works more, earns more. With this money the children can return to the city to visit their families if they wish. The children very often try to establish some dialogue with their family once they are part of this project. Little by little they create their own value systems which enable them to go back to the community if they so wish. The priest is the guide or counsellor, but the children form their own government - each serving a three months term as mayor, and they fulfil functions of administration and disciplinary action. They have a system of justice which they, themselves, have established.

The children live in groups, each group in a separate house, with adults helping them. The older children help the younger ones to socialize. This is a lovely community. They become proud of such things as the decoration and arrangement of their rooms, or of showing off the library. In a way, they have returned to a life in which the positive aspects, which had been lost in the streets, are recovered.

I think that humanitarian programmes such as this one in Colombia can exist in other societies too. If one would say that it is sad that a society could permit the existence of street waifs, they must also consider that this 'city of gamines' is an offshoot of the same society. Culturally, this is the right idea since it is built on a sense of human dignity. I hope that neither in Colombia, nor in any of your countries, a child would 'want to be a dog'."

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ALICE BELIAH WANDERA - "The Republic of Kenya, which gained its independence 16 years ago, lies across the Equator on the eastern seaboard of Africa. It has the most varied topography in the continent, ranging from glaciers to desert, palm fringes and coral shores, and has all kinds of wild life in their natural habitat. The official languages are Swahili and English, and there are several vernaculars, spoken by various groups. The people of Kenya enjoy free denominational worship.

Before I begin to describe the cultural values in Kenya, I would like to give you, in one sentence, my definition of culture. It is a total way of life that makes life worth living and tightens up ties which bind the peoples of various communities into one society. The African cultural values in Kenya revolve around the family, the clan, the child and society. There is an emphasis placed on respect for older people, hospitality to all, sharing of work and prosperity, family solidarity through marriage and children. Divorce does not exist.

In Kenyan society the child is the 'cement' of the family, the foundation, the future, and the prosperity of the family, the clan and the community. Therefore the more children you have the more prosperous and respected you are even though Kenya recognizes family planning. In this situation the problem of illegitimate children, orphans, and homeless children also does not exist. Barren women, too, may bring up children borne by their relatives.

In the extended family system, a child normally belongs to the father's line; male children inherit their father's property and they are allocated land according to how hard their respective mothers tilled such land. Lazy women provide little for their sons.

In African society, sex education, respect and responsibility, are taught by the elders. The virginity of a girl at the time of marriage is the highest honour to her parents and to the clan, and warrents serious celebration. Well brought up children do not drink or smoke (although now some do, in secret). They show respect to their elders and not just to their parents. They do not talk thoughtlessly or argue or contradict or call old people by the first names as this would be called insolence. A child is also taught that he should share food with others, as such attitudes determine future leadership - leadership cannot be entertained, or entrusted to a selfish person.

Socio-economic changes experienced in Kenya today are conflicting with these traditional cultural influences on the child. Most of the educated parents in the towns now bring up children in an environment where they are not surrounded by members of their family, who could render help when needed. The parents buy toys, expensive television sets, and books to occupy children, or they buy temporary parental care from 'ayahs'. In the town schools, 40 children are looked after by one teacher. How can a child receive motherly love or fatherly love from such a crowded situation?

When town parents take their children to visit grandparents in the rural areas, the grandparents appear foreign to the kids since they speak only the vernacular and live in mud homes without electricity. When grandparents want to play their parental roles, they find their grandchildren very difficult to handle since these children from the towns are dressed from head to toe, use knives and forks when eating, and cannot enjoy eating local food. Friction arises from conflicting parental roles - the mother-in-law feels frustrated because she cannot play her role and the young mother prefers to bring up her children in a different manner.

Traditionally, in the villages, young boys and girls sleep in separate houses from their parents or share their grandparents' house. In towns they share crowded rooms with their parents, where there is no privacy. Children and youth start to imitate their parents in love-making at an early age, especially as they also see this on the television and in the cinema. How can a girl avoid having out of wedlock babies with the situation that arises in towns?

Children in rural areas are used to practical and manual work. They walk miles to school. Resources are limited, but they are creative when they need to be. Those in the towns struggle in the cars and buses. Servants do most of the house chores for them, and children become incapable of doing any strenuous work. When their parents are at work, they are frequently left on their own. Young girls from the town who marry early, often do not know how to prepare proper light meals, and they are frustrated when they are confronted with the 'large realities'.

Children from the towns are confused as to which values they should follow: those of the grandparents through the extended family system, or the urban and mixed one, that is influenced by television, mixed races, teaching from school, etc. They have no contact with the traditional recreation or activities, and have limited opportunities for actually doing practical work. At school they are made to do practical work only as punishment. Modern parents are aware that there must be a balance between the foreign and traditional cultural values. Still, a Kenyan child, like any other child in Africa or elsewhere, often rebels against his parents and the community because they are confronted with too many conflicting values.

However, the situation does not look as gloomy as it sounds. Parents, leaders and the society as a whole, are busy finding solutions to this problem. In particular, this has been done through the establishment of the Department for Culture and Studies at the University for African Cultural Development, and through the National Section on Cultural Events. With independence cultural activities and national programmes are fostering our traditional ways and now young and old sing and dance together in public without being embarrassed as they used to be during colonial times."

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SHALOM MANDELBAUM - "My study is that of socialization in Kiryat Gat - a development town in Israel - and the conflicts and problems the process entails. Kiryat Gat, in the northern part of the Negev desert, was established 26 years ago and the first fifteen families moved in a year later. Between the years 1961 and 1971 its population grew by 91%, and today the town has 27,000 inhabitants. Most of this population are immigrants who came from 32 different countries.

In Israel, as a whole, the Jewish population in 1947 was approximately 600,000. Today it is over three million. Let me present the first problem. In most countries you have the problem of socialization of different groups within the country, but here you have the problem of socialization towards a culture that in certain respects is still in a state of evolution. There is no one deep-rooted culture that combines all the different elements of the population. When we talk of Israeli culture, we think of folk dancing,

songs, and festive celebrations, but not of an 'all embracing' Israeli culture. There are, however, certain norms and values which are more or less universal in Israel and I will talk about socialization in these terms.

Each family or person that has to go through a de-socialization or re-socialization process loses part of the existing personal or family equilibrium. A specific problem with some immigrants is that they were already in some form of non-equilibrium before they came to Israel. For example, in the case of immigrants from North Africa, they had already changed once, from an Arab-based culture to a French-based culture. As a result, one often finds a situation where the grandfather talks Arabic, the father talks Spanish, the mother talks French and the children talk Hebrew. It is not, therefore, a matter of being transplanted from one culture to another, it is basically two, three, and sometimes four cultures within one family group, that conflict and coincide."

The speaker then commented on general difficulties that were faced by newcomers in Israel shortly after establishment of the State. Due to certain objective problems with housing and employment, as an outcome of mass immigration, large extended families having 10 to 12 children were sometimes separated, with the parents working in the cities and the children staying in villages. "The basic family was forced to be far more mobile than it was in North Africa. Whenever possible, these families were given two flats side by side. Even so, the family of that size could no longer function as a family with the mobility of modern-day families".

All of the general problems which exist in Israel, said Mr. Mandelbaum, exist in microcosm in Kiryat Gat. He described some programmes for integration, for introducing different social values to the 'newcomer' families. At first, efforts were made to work through youth movement and then through the schools, but neither answered all of the social needs. Moreover, there was also the problem of who was going to work with these children within these programmes.

"Ten, twelve years ago, the idea was to train young people in educational institutions to become teachers, and then have them return to work in the development towns. However, in the process some of these teachers rejected their own cultures - a Moroccan Jew tried to mirror the way of life of European Jews. In the past five years, we have initiated a series of projects in which we are trying to re-socialize, those who had become de-socialized, in their own culture. This means to teach the teachers in Kiryat Gat who came from Moroccan homes, what it is to be a Moroccan Jew, what Moroccan culture is.

A major problem which must first be overcome is that of stereotyping. To stereotype people is very easy, all of us do it. We just have to be aware that that is what we are doing". Mr. Mandelbaum described a programme which he devised for teacher seminars, to show the teachers how,

perhaps without knowing it, they often judge people according to common stereotypes. Four files were compiled on existing people, with the data on small, separate cards. Each person came from a different ethnic group and their names clearly indicated their background (e.g. the names were typically North African, European, Arabic or established Israeli). All the files were scrambled and the teachers were asked to put them in order again, in four different 'identity kits'. The occupations of the four men varied from waiter to doctor and the sizes of their families ranged from 2 to 6 children. In nearly all the cases, the teachers re-arranged the files according to their versions of the stereotypes of each ethnic group. Later, the individuals described in the files were introduced to the teachers, who were shown that in these cases, their stereotype 'identities' were all wrong.

Outside of the school system, programmes have been arranged for non-formal activities. "We started a kind of 'youth for youth' activity five years ago in our town and today it is the model for the whole of southern Israel. Each town is trying to create its own youth leadership through courses and other activities. We have decided to use our air-raid shelters for a dual purpose. This means that if there is war, these are air-raid shelters. If there is peace they are activity and play areas for children. Last week, for the first time, we brought together all the youth leaders aged 14 to 16 in Kiryat Gat, who qualified for Diplomas awarded by the Education Department. These give them a certain status, and they go back to their neighbourhoods and start youth leadership activities there.

In organising courses for youth leadership, we asked ourselves how youth should deal with youth that can no longer talk to their parents. I very often have parents come to me with a child of five or six who has to translate for the parent. When this child is twelve, what will the father still be able to tell him? We find that problems with parents are usually problems of non-communication. Sometimes, if the parents can no longer cope with the children intellectually or verbally, their anger becomes physical.

We have some guidelines for work with youth of this kind, in youth clubs. These are different from the guidelines of ordinary youth activities and youth movements. The first two are of the administrative type: structural flexibility of work with youth in all its variations, and voluntary participation. We also have two educational guidelines: symmetry of relationship between the youth leader and the youth group, and what I call a 'moratorium' which means that the child is in a system in which he acknowledges and understands his mistakes, and his duties are only those that he can accept in a mature way. The more he accepts, the more status he will get, but if he cannot do that then he will carry on from where he is. 'Classification' of the child's capabilities is suspended until he himself is ready to go ahead.

The content guidelines are that it is not the subject of the programme, but its intrinsic content that is the important factor, and the intrinsic

content is personal relationships between you and your friends, between the individual and society, throughout the system. The second concept is multi-media which means that different forms and different approaches are used, which are not necessarily verbal, in order to interest and motivate the youngster.

One project carried out in Kiryat Gat was connected with Israel's 30th Anniversary of Independence. All educational institutions were asked to have a special programme. However, the only source material we could get at the Pedagogic Centre was on Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, the north and the extreme south, but none for the area in which these children live, which actually is very rich in history. So we had to go out and look for material ourselves. After we found it, we made it relevant to the children - not as a history lesson, but in that the children discovered it themselves, through certain activities. First of all, through a story on tape, through slides, then the children went out and asked the people 'where is such a place and what happened there 30 years ago'. Once they had learned about these events in their town, they told others. With involvement in various activities, slowly but surely the child himself becomes the socializing factor for his own peer group, and at times also for the family".

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SECTION II - chaired by Joya Cole

DISCUSSION: THE IMPACT OF CULTURE ON THE GROWTH OF THE CHILD

Moderated by Gerald Handel

Cultural Change

There are some parts of my country that are cut off from the mainstream of development because of geographical isolation, or for political reasons. In one particular area the women handweave beautiful cloth. They produce only enough for their needs and are not interested in selling what they make since theirs is a community that does not value money as such.

Organisations such as UNICEF, in collaboration with the national government, are attempting to help these women generate more income by setting up various projects. These projects require knowledge of, and sensitivity to, the commercial aspects of the operation. The market was not a part of their lives before, and it may damage the sense of satisfaction and contentment which they previously derived from a non-competitive way of life. It is necessary to give them something that will improve their insufficient earnings but at the same time, we must find a way to retain some of the very rich tradition in their culture.

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A tribe of nomads that settled a number of years ago just south of the town where I work, has slowly moved from tents to huts, and from huts to houses and buildings. I accompanied a group of tourists to this small town and we saw the school, the youth centre and talked with local leaders. Afterwards, in a discussion with some of the townspeople, one of the visitors criticised this development saying that it was destroying these people, who had lived an ideal life roaming in the desert. One of the nomads answered, 'if you, for the sake of your romanticising, want me to run around the desert, you had better try it out yourself.'

The problem is that there are certain cultural forms that, whether we like it or not, have to disappear if the person, if the clan or tribe, want a change in economic standards.

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It is not true that in the 'old times' everybody was happy. When you have high infant mortality and malnutrition there cannot be happiness or well being. Still, there are cultural values worth preserving, for example, the extended family in which the children are protected, secure, and are not left homeless if they lose a mother or a father.

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Moderator: What is involved here is that new values are being introduced, sometimes by outsiders and sometimes by the indigenous population. There are those people who have been content and thus do not want modernised society, while others are glad to change their way of life. In the first case the new way of life is being brought to the people and they are somewhat powerless to resist it.

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The Impact of Cultural Change on the Role of Women

In many societies, the husband traditionally does not help with the children despite the fact that, during his childhood, he learned to care for his younger siblings.

When these men marry they discard their child rearing duties since the woman is viewed as property acquired for this job. We should consider how to train women so that they can break these cultural patterns gradually, without antagonising the whole society.

I would like to mention a study by the Overseas Education Fund which found that, in the three countries studied, there was a need for women to learn how to generate income. The study also found that one of the important ways in which the women established their identity was through their role as nurturers, especially of children. If society could find a way to have the incentives in income generation relate to women's status as nurturers in the community, the motivation would not be at odds with the prevailing cultural patterns.

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It has been the traditional pattern in my country for many lower income households to be headed by the woman, who may be living in a common law relationship with a man. In such a case, the man is not legally bound to support her, nor his children. Traditionally these women have been unskilled, working in low paid jobs such as domestic service. We felt that this had to change, so we trained these women in

what we call 'non-traditional' skills. We taught them to be carpenters, masons, and welders. It gave the women a sense of satisfaction and, for the first time, sufficient income of their own to support their children. At first the men objected but now it is accepted in our society that, as long as a woman is trained for a job, she can have it.

A group of these women have established a co-operative, and now we realise that they still require managerial skills. Culturally, they are not aggressive enough to go out and sell their products themselves. We are teaching them marketing and, while it has been a gradual process, we are slowly overcoming this second hurdle.

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In my country, emphasis is placed on our traditional handicraft industry which is something mothers can do at home, between the hours that they take care of their children. We try to improve their weaving skills, to help them make new designs and find new markets, and at the same time we encourage them to stay at home.

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The Role of the School in Transmitting Culture

I come from an immigrant society, where the different ethnic groups live in a ghetto-type residential pattern. If our goal is to have education which integrates the various cultures within the society, we must strive for integrated residential patterns. With the ghetto pattern, children generally attend school on the basis of zoning according to neighbourhoods,so integration would have to be imposed on them.

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In my country, children from various ethnic groups, with different languages and therefore different cultures, come into a school system which is basically mono-lingual and Anglo conformist. The pressures are for the migrant child to give up not only his cultural tradition but also the cultural language in which the traditions are embodied. This creates enormous conflicts for the child, his parents and the school.

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Schools are not the only avenue through which pride and understanding of our culture can be instilled in our children. In fact, too often schools are only a 'factory' for diplomas and certificates. The children are not open to learning about culture in such a situation.

The street can be a positive socialising factor, depending on what one does on the street. Play groups in neighbourhoods, open youth clubs, etc., allow the child to be in his neighbourhood and in direct contact with his culture.

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The main role and function of the education system in my country is manpower planning rather than cultural training. We teach people to fit to the economic market and also we teach universal values. Mine is also an immigrant culture. The Chinese, for example, came from China about 100 years ago. If we were to teach them Chinese culture it would not fit them back into their old world, nor into the new. At the same time, we do not impose one culture on different ethnic groups. We let people remain culturally as they are, however we try to help them in terms of skills or professions, to fit into the society.

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Development in the name of education can change the culture of a people in such a way that it leads to problems and frustrations. We have a new problem in my country where, in the name of development, we encourage education up to University level, and we assume that all children coming through must achieve a certain degree of academic excellence. The result is that they are no longer interested in learning traditional trades or skills. Previously, if one could not be a professional, he automatically went into a trade. Furthermore, we are an agricultural society, yet the children are moving away from the land. We are importing almost all of our food while the children are going through a system that does not prepare them for life.

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The Use of Existing Services and Resources

In some countries certain values are preventing parents from using existing services. The parents themselves know how valuable these services are, but they do not use them because of pressure within their culture. For instance, there are children's hospitals which are empty. The parents will not take their children to these hospitals because people in their neighbourhood might think that the mother is unable to care for her child herself. Instead, they hide the sick child, especially in cases of mentally retarded children.

Another service is day care centres for working women which are almost empty. These centres have good facilities, qualified teachers,

and are located in rural areas and the slums where people need the service. Yet parents go to work and leave their children on the streets, even on the coldest days. They are afraid to send their children to day care centres because their neighbours will, again, think that they are not caring for their children themselves. The policy of the government is to open more day care centres but I know they will be empty.

I would like to emphasize the role of mass media here, to let people know that there is nothing shameful in accepting help from the society.

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Moderator: Culture is not just a people's way of life. It provides the values and the standards by which people judge themselves and on the basis of which they establish their self esteem. When cultures begin to change, one of the things that happens is that it removes or attacks this basis. For people to make use of a modern concept of service they would be losing their self esteem, they would be losing the respect of their neighbours and of the people who are important to them. I suggest that in any programme involving new services, we have to be sensitive to the kind of impact it will have on people's traditional basis of self esteem and the sense of honour which every person requires in his own society.

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Speakers were: Anne Akpofure, Edilia Coelho G., Joya Cole, Carmen Delgado V., Camilo Iberico Z., Sister Lydia Kalaw, Shalom Mendelbaum, Sindhu Phadke, Norma Roach, Neora Shefer, Geulah Solomon, Demetrios Stylianou, Bee Wan Tan, Sema Ulcay, Margaret Varma, Alice Wandera, Atalay Yorukoglu.

SECTION III - chaired by Annette Kearney

Community Responsibility

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

Nehama Nir-Yaniv

I wish to present an overview of an educational system which we consider to be dynamic, changing, challenging, difficult. I shall start by quoting some figures, and then go on to our convictions about education priorities and goals, to problems and our experimentation in the attempt to find some solutions.

The early childhood education system in Israel absorbs an impressive number of children: 87% of the three-year and 97% of the four-year olds are attending kindergartens. In the poor areas tuition is free. All the children of the age of five are enrolled in the compulsory kindergartens since the free and compulsory State education starts from that age.

This large number of pupils places a great responsibility on the supervisors, teachers and parents, and impels us to find ways of turning the 'quantity' into 'quality'. This, as you know, is a very difficult task to take on, anywhere in the world.

According to a colleague at the Bar Ilan University, educators should have these three convictions: that people - and this means children and teachers too are amenable to changes; that I, as an educator and as an individual, can bring about change; and that I can cause myself to change to perform a better and more worthwhile role. These three beliefs, I think, underlie our philosophy of education. Perhaps that is why our priorities are so clearly defined, and all the changes, the innovations and experiments are being channeled to the poverty areas.

Many of our problems are also universal problems. The first one is how to bridge the gap between the children. There is something wrong and unjust about dividing children into categories, into the 'advantaged' and the 'disadvantaged'. We must somehow put an end to this categorisation.

The changing role of the teacher is another problem. Until ten years ago, it was an accepted view in Israel that the client of a teacher was the child, and the big input was to train teachers to become good teachers for the sake of the child. But this is no longer enough. We now need to train teachers towards a changing role that, in addition to being teachers of children, they have to be teachers or partners of the parents also.

One more change in the teacher's role in our society is that she is no longer the sole teacher in the classroom. The kindergartens are now open to volunteers, to teenage assistants, to special teachers who deal with handicapped children, and so the classroom teacher has to become a member of a team, a leader of a team. All these roles are new, and the training of teachers is changing accordingly. But, as everywhere in the world, such training changes very slowly, so that the preparation never keeps up with the changes occurring in the life of the society.

The question is not only how to prepare the teachers for their new roles, but how to instruct, advise and supervise them in these roles. We are creating a few models of instruction, supervision and advisory skills, to make the teacher better able to meet the social changes. We have, for example, a system of supervision that could be called 'support guidance', in which the teacher is supported by a supervisor or an advisor. Again, priority will be given to those who are teaching in the remote and poverty-racked areas, and the concern is how to keep the best, the most experienced teachers in those areas.

To return to the subject of bridging the gap in educational achievement, we must first of all individualise instruction. If we have 35 children per teacher and her para-professional aide, how can we dream about individual instruction? Yet we have to keep our goal in sight and know that the bridging must be based on individualised programmes, individualised sensitivity towards a child and his parents.

Another major goal of our society which is very difficult to implement, is integration. In Israel, as in many of the places that you come from, there are many ethnic groups from different backgrounds. In order to build one nation we had to start out in the right way. We began with acculturation - in America it was Americanisation, wasn't it? We did the same - one may call it 'Israelisation'. But for us it was the wrong way, it created frustration and bitterness.

What we are now doing for integration is trying out different programmes in different ways, and in several directions. The first opposite of 'Israelisation', going back to the cultures of our ethnic groups, working together with the children and parents in the kindergartens on their customs, ways of life, food, attire, stories, and this is only the beginning. Next month we'll see the publication of the first book of different ethnic stories for very young children. This will be not only the first compilation, but the only compulsory book in all the kindergartens in Israel.

In parent involvement, for which we have set up various projects, the main idea is that the teacher learns from the parents, and not the other way round. This attitude creates an open and trusting atmosphere between teacher and parents.

We are opposed to adjoining our kindergartens to schools for fear that they will be swallowed up very quickly, therefore our kindergartens

are located on separate grounds, in separate buildings. On the other hand the teacher becomes isolated. What must we do in order to support the teacher, to enable her to advance? This is another problem seeking urgent solution.

I shall now talk about some of the research being done, as well as a few of the experiments and programmes to achieve individualisation, integration, parent involvement and placement of the best teachers in the most difficult locations. In the past few years, we have encouraged high school students of 16 and 17 to come to the kindergartens once a month, to work with the children on a one-to-one basis. This is not enough, of course, but the trend is there, the evaluation is there, and the project has great value for the child and also for the teenage assistant. We think it a good preparation at 16, for future parenthood, to learn to know the child. When we asked these student-assistants 'What is it all about?' one answer was: 'I thought a three or four year old child just doesn't know anything, but now I see I was wrong. The children know so much'. They discover children, and this, I think, is a good thing.

Women volunteers also work in the kindergartens on a one-to-one basis. The teacher, as the leader of the team, explains the programmes, the concepts, and instructs them about the material with which they will have to work with the children.

We have para-professionals assisting in all the kindergartens. In addition, in the poor areas, the professional teachers work with the children on a one-to-one basis, and in small groups, for here is where we need the professionals in order to help the child advance, become more developed and more knowledgeable.

A new project was introduced three years ago for integrating the handicapped child in a regular classroom. In Hebrew it is called 'Siah'. This project is being developed by teachers who were trained in the field of special education for three or four years, and who were recommended by their supervisors as being sensitive and experienced. After the first year, a survey among 700 children showed that 45% went on to a regular first grade, 25% went to a regular first grade with help in the school, 25% remained another year in the kindergarten, and only 5% went over to the separate special education schools. This gives us a lot of hope that things can be changed, and that people can be changed. We are continuing with the project because the findings are encouraging, and we are repeating the surveys.

Another innovation is the establishment of a community kindergarten. This type of kindergarten has a beautiful library and 'corners' for music, art, and drama. During the mornings children come with their teachers and receive non-verbal instruction. In the afternoons, parents come to listen to stories and work with their children. There are 42 such community kindergartens throughout the country, serving 400 regular kindergartens. . . is a modest beginning.

Finally, I shall mention the development of the two new models of supervision, instruction and guidance, which provide support for the teachers in the remote areas.

The first model was devised together with Professor Bernard Spodek of the University of Illinois, and was based on reflectivity, in which a group of supervisors work with small groups of teachers to relate their educational goals to the activities conducted daily, and to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

There are 55 supervisors and 650 teachers working in this project. After one year both the teachers and supervisors found that the programme helped to create openness, trust, mutual growth, and that the gap between statement of goals and the activities was actually being bridged. This was encouraging and we are continuing with this model.

The second model, planned together with Professor Noam Chomsky of Brooklyn City College, is built upon apprenticeship. This means that instead of just verbal communication and discussion, the more experienced teacher shares her knowledge and skills, working in the kindergarten, with younger teachers who thus acquire more confidence and insight.

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In response to a question about inducing teachers to respect values which are different from their own, Dr. Nir-Yaniv referred to Israel's KEDMA Project for Parent-Teacher Group Discussions, which she had initiated. The questioner pointed out that "when teachers attend college they usually learn the values of the middle class families and, as a result, have difficulties in understanding poorer families", Dr. Nir-Yaniv replied that KEDMA has helped teachers to understand the communities in which they work. "It is a project for parents and educators, based on the principle that teachers should learn from parents rather than teach them. In this way the teachers can learn about a family's background, values, their way of life and their ideas about education."

Through this project, educators have learned to recognise and accept basic differences between ethnic groups. Dr. Nir-Yaniv mentioned one example: "There is even a difference between the way that Eastern and Western Jews tell stories. We didn't know this until one of our researchers discovered that in the Middle East and North Africa the way of telling a story was to explain everything, to disclose the moral and to ask the child what it meant.

Our teachers usually learn the Western way in college, which is not to reveal the moral nor to lead the children to it. It was found that children of Eastern origin did not understand many of the stories told by the teachers, and were therefore at a disadvantage in the class. One can see the danger. This is why we believe that the teacher should learn from the parents."

HOME INSTRUCTION PROGRAMME FOR PRESCHOOL YOUNGSTERS

Avima Lombard

I am going to discuss one of the ways in which we, in Israel, are using para-professionals in early childhood education.

We have approximately 6000 kindergartens and in each one there is a para-professional worker giving assistance in many areas that the professional would otherwise have to handle. Generally, in Israel, the person who works alongside the nursery school or kindergarten teacher is an untrained person - in my opinion, too untrained. We are beginning to have courses for these women, but on the whole they are considered 'helpers' rather than para-professionals. I would like to talk to you about a programme that we have developed which uses the assistance of para-professionals in a totally different way, but first, a few words of background.

Several lecturers have spoken about problems of integration in Israel. I shall consider, specifically, a very serious problem of school failure among children of one segment of the population. The causes are not very different from those for school failure in other countries. They are connected to poverty, to large families, to low level of parent education, to all sorts of conditions which appear to be world wide Those of us who deal with it find it incredible that it is such a universal phenomenon. No matter what the language, what the culture, there seems to be one group in every country that's just'not making it'. They present a problem for themselves certainly, and for the society.

Our Institute, the National Council of Jewish Women for Research in Innovation of Education, is concerned with these disadvantaged groups. My field is early childhood education. The programme which I am about to describe to you is based upon the assumptions (and I have found in my work that they hold true) that almost all children from the ages of 3½ to 4 are in some kind of an organised preschool setting, that the largest percentage of these children are from our poverty areas, and that the schools they attend are good ones.

While the kindergartens are very good, they cannot do the whole job. Our children are in school from 8 in the morning to 12 or 1 o'clock. The rest of the day they are at home, and during this time the family members have an impact on them as educators and as socialising agents. The home is an educating institution and we must deal with the child in this context.

Certain parents do things which appear to be good for their children's school performance, while other parents apparently do things which are less productive - not necessarily bad, just less productive in terms of

what the school demands of the child. There are two ways of handling this, to change the school demands or to change what is happening at home. I believe we should change what the school demands, but this takes time since schools are notorious for being slow changing and we have to accept that. We must, then, look and see what we can do in the home.

Moreover, children aged 4, 5, and 6, who are involved in preschool life, frequently move from one school to another because of the way the Ministry is structured. Since they don't necessarily stay with the same teacher, we decided that in these preschool learning years we would like to strengthen the mother's position. We would like her to be the central figure.

We spoke to some of the mothers in order to explore their feelings about themselves, and we found that they were very interested in their children's education, that they believed education was very important. But when I said to them 'why don't you participate more actively in your child's education?' the average reply was 'I don't know how. I never learned. You have teachers, experts in this. It's the teacher's job to teach the child, not mine.' No matter what I said, I couldn't convince them that they were in fact teachers and they had done most of the teaching for their children. Anything that did not fit their concept of 'teacher', turned them away.

Argument got us nowhere so we decided to create a situation in which the mother would do things at home that looked and felt like teaching. We believed by doing this, she would feel differently about herself in general, and then if we should come to her and say - 'look mother, you have in fact a major role as a teacher' - she would be able to communicate with us a little better.

We created a series of activities for mother and child to do at home, which were not necessarily the activities I did with my children or that I would recommend to a well functioning mother, because there are many things that are more exciting than what we asked them to do. But they certainly were the kind of things that mothers can understand and do. Using the technique of programmed instruction, we worked on the belief that the best way to bring a child to the point where he has mastery over something is to break down the process of learning into a series of very small, interesting and simple steps. Then, if the mother undertakes to do these activities with the child, she will have done activities 'A', 'B', and 'C' and the child will be at level 'D' of competence. The person who will have taught him will be the mother. She knows, the family knows, and the child knows that she taught him. The mother has assumed a new role in the home.

These are all game-like activities, playthings based mainly on home materials rather than expensive toys. We recommend very simple things - the inexpensive but adequately good books, a ball or crayons. We also recommend materials which can be bought with the groceries or which the mothers have among their cleaning things; safe materials with which you can do things at home with children.

Our institute is committed to developing programmes which are not only university academic experiments but which can be put into operation in the field. To change the nature of things out there, in the real world, we had to find a delivery system, a way of getting this material to the mothers which was both feasible and would promote something that was good. We decided to use mothers to teach mothers, and so we went into a community, located a group of mothers of four-year olds, and selected leaders from among them. These were women, working only in their homes, whom we hired for pay to teach their neighbours how to use our materials. They were trained to do this by professionals.

At this moment I ought to tell you the name of our programme. It is the Home Instruction Programme for Preschool Youngsters, or if you write it in capital letters, it is called the HIPPY programme. It is a programme which is much more structured than I, as an early childhood educator, would like to see under most circumstances, but if we are going to convince mothers to take on the task, I believe we have to help them do it in the easiest manner. We work on the basis of success, because it is not fair to ask someone to venture something new unless you can guarantee, to a large extent, that she will succeed. For this reason we cannot leave too many things open. I can't say to a mother, "Here's a book, read it to your child". She has never read books to her child so she is not used to it. She doesn't have any feeling for what is going on, so we must slowly ease her into this. We say to her instead, "Here's a book, look at the first page, point to the picture and say..." In the beginning we tell her what to ask because she won't think of it herself. After a year or two in the programme, she will know how to do this herself and will be comfortable with it, then we will tell her other new things. We are all highly skilled professionals, although we are not 'efficient' workers because we take a <u>lot</u> of time, and do it very well.

We begin by teaching the para-professional aide who is herself a mother. She is selected from the community because she is a somewhat better functioning mother, a little better put together and more organised. The nursery school points to her as being the one who stands out. There is always one, two, three or four in a community. You can put your fingers on them. Although they often want to work outside the home, they usually can't because there are many children at home, or they are not used to it, or their husbands don't like the idea. However, they <u>will</u> work within the community. Also, they have no skills for work, other than being very good mothers, which is a wonderful skill but not for what we need at this point. So we tell them exactly what to do.

We teach them how to teach through role-play. We say 'when you go into a home you have a weekly book that you are going to give the mother. Sit down, make believe you are the mother and she is the child. Half-way through, make believe that you are the child and she is the mother. Together, act out this book and in the process any questions about it will come out. If you don't know the answer to something, don't guess. Things that you don't understand will be explained by a professional who is there to guide you. She will meet with you once a week, and you should

come to her for help'. A para-professional needs a good deal of support, a lot of guidance and a lot of regular contact.

The experiments with this programme began ten years ago. We ran it under various conditions and we found, first of all, that the mothers stayed with it. Out of 48 mothers who began the programme 45 remained at the end of the first year and, while this percentage was the best ever, it hasn't been much less since. This indicates, we believe, that the mothers enjoyed the programme. Secondly, we did many tests on the children and we found that they learned and did as well as the average Israeli child does, which is good enough for us.

We are doing a follow-up on these children, who are now in the ninth grade, in order to find out if they are any different than the children who were not in the programme. While this follow-up is not yet complete, it looks as if all those we have been able to locate are doing well in school. There are still some that we haven't found who have, perhaps, done so poorly that they are in other schools; but we will find them and we will let you know about them.

The programme has been such an impactful programme on the mothers, the children, the aides, and through the aides on the community, that the Ministry of Education, in its attempt to stream funds into the education of the disadvantaged, has allocated large sums of money for implementing the HIPPY Programme around the country. We started off with 48 families and we will have in the coming year, from the north to the south, probably about 8,500 families.

The Ministry also asked us to do a second evaluation of the programme. We are finding that the programme still has an effect. The children who are in the programme are certainly doing better at school than the children who are not, and the people who are teaching them are the mothers, not the teachers. All of them have school teachers, they are all in nursery school or in kindergarten, but the difference is that in some homes the mothers are actively involved and in others they are not.

Yesterday, I was reading a paper that came out of the United States, a Government Information Services report about follow-up of the 'Head-Start Programme'. They were saying that at that point in time (it was 1978) they were not able to find any differences in follow-up effect as a function of who the teachers were, whether there were para-professionals, or what the programmes were. However, if there were parents involved in the programme, differences in impact were apparent. The greatest affect was on children whose parents were involved in educational enrichment programmes. They are finding some very accurate measurements of the effect of this early parental involvement on these children, who are now high school students in the United States.

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The following are excerpts from a question-and-answer session with Dr. Lombard.

Question: Is the material used for the HIPPY Programme available outside Israel?

The actual material we use with the parents is in Hebrew, although one day it will be translated into other languages. At this time, with the assistance of the Ford Foundation, we are writing up the study in great detail, and in a way that will help each country make the decision whether it would like to undertake such a project. Later we will face the problem of how to transfer from one culture and one language to another.

Question: Can mass-media, such as television and radio, be used positively or do you find that they hinder the programme? In my country, television tells the parents that the authorities know everything and the parents know nothing.

While our parents are not openly given the message that they don't know anything as a standard, the hidden message is there. We do give parents the feeling that they have a problem because they can't do the job well and if only they could, the teacher's job would be so much easier. However, to the credit of the country, I must say that our educational television has undertaken a very intensive programme for parents. The idea is to present a drama, during prime television time, showing family situations with various child-rearing problems. The problems are dealt with and the approach is discussed in an interesting way.

A standard Israeli family is portrayed in which the father works in a factory, and the mother has worked previously. They have 4 children spaced about two or three years apart, which is average, and they live in a small flat. All of their problems are common ones.

The first year of the programme dealt with problems relating to raising the smaller children. In the second year they focused on the older school age children. The programme was originally designed for parents but we found that entire families were watching and talking to each other, sometimes for the first time. It became very popular around the country, even in kibbutzim.

Alongside the programme, a large network of parent discussion groups were organised to discuss the issues which had been raised on the screen. Materials for educational instruction relating to the specific topics of each programme were distributed to the groups. In this case, I believe that the Israel Television and the Educational Television have done something positive with the media.

Question: How do fathers fit into this programme?

Families in the poorer areas of Israel are usually intact and well functioning. We would like to be able to do things with the fathers as well, but since they usually work out of the home they do not see their essential role as being that of raising the small child.

They participate though, far more than we thought they would. We know that often they will try to help the mother so that she can be involved in the programme. For example, when the father comes home from work he might take care of small children so that the mother can give her complete attention to one child. He may also go over some material with the child on the Shabbat or other days if he has the time.

There is a programme in Israel of toy-lending libraries and I believe that this is an area in which fathers feel comfortable. Mothers and fathers are brought into the kindergartens and instructed how to play with toys. They are then allowed to borrow the toys in order to play with their children at home. There is something about a piece of equipment that attracts the fathers, they feel that it is respectable. This is one way in which fathers can be involved.

Question: Do you think that mothers would work in such a programme if they were not paid? In developing countries we could not afford to pay them.

I think one could develop a programme with volunteers although it would not be as popular nor as successful. We do not pay our women very much, only a minimal salary, but there is something about the respectability of being paid from public funds, to do a service for your own community, which adds status to this programme. To do it with volunteers one would have to put a great deal of effort into maintaining a relationship with them, and the families they work with. One of the things we do not want is to raise the families' hopes only for them to be disappointed because the volunteer, for some reason or another, cannot meet the criterion of steady work. Unfortunately, if the mother is a volunteer, she has the right to withdraw with great ease and the one activating her has to respect that right.

Some people ask how we can have a woman teach her neighbours. 'Don't they look down on each other? Do they respect each other?' I can only tell you that the day we point to the four or five women in a neighbourhood who are going to be the aides, they become leaders, and take on a new role. They are accepted in their neighbourhood as consultants, and I believe that is partially due to the fact that we pay them.

Question: Do you cooperate from time to time with professionals from other fields, such as mental health?

We are very concerned and very much involved with the community services available to our families and the various agencies relating to

family services. They appreciate our programme because we have access to the homes, which they may not have. We sometimes find ourselves able to set up communication links between a home situation and a service that otherwise would not have been made because the members of the family were not even aware that their problem could be helped. The para-professional aide becomes the link between the home and the available service and we consider this to be both important to the family and also a way in which we can assist these agencies. Therefore, we encourage contact with the social, mental health, and legal aid services.

Question: Is there a problem of illiteracy among the mothers?

We have a decreasing number of mothers who are illiterate, the greatest percentage of which are older women who came here with no schooling. Our younger mothers do have basic literacy, although they may not read well.

If a mother cannot read, this does not prevent our working. We recruit older brothers and sisters to help in the process, yet we insist that the mother remain as the central figure because we are trying to change her feelings about her inability to be an educator. Once successfully involved, she is ready to learn how to read and write. She suddenly has new motivation for this.

SECTION IV - chaired by Nina Koumanakos

SERVICES FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN GUATEMALA

Ruth Chicas Rendon de Sosa

Throughout the years children and adolescents have been considered immature beings biologically, physically, and socially. Yet in our time of scientific-technological revolution, we are not able to grant them even the minimal rights that they deserve by nature and law. In Guatemala one of our most urgent needs is to secure an integrated development for our children that would lead to a healthy and useful life, in which the school and home environments, as well as the physical and the social elements, interact.

During the past year, the services for children and youth in my country are being re-organised. A four-year national plan for development was formulated for the period of 1979-82, re-evaluating and modifying the previous approach to development to ensure that available services and benefits reach the majority of the people, through adequate and diversified planning.

Various government and private agencies are cooperating in the programme, and the government has proposed to strengthen local projects, giving priority to those in the smaller communities. The central point of the plan is to promote agricultural production through a process of basic rural transformation. This includes the development and incorporation of new technologies, rationalisation and diversification of production, increasing employment and raising the general standard of living.

The programme recognises that the family is the basic unit of production in rural communities, and that progress depends on educating the people towards changes of attitude regarding modern, rational, methods of exploitation of the soil, diversification of crops, and the building of small scale industries.

In the Social Welfare Section of the National Development Plan, priority has been given to four vital areas: social welfare services,

community development, women's participation in development, and youth. Planners hope to update existing programmes, to obtain maximum advantage from available resources on national and international levels, to extend services to the rural areas, to achieve effective coordination in both public and private institutions, to study alternatives for incorporating 'marginal' groups into the process of development, and to involve the beneficiary's family so that the services received will constitute a shared responsibility and contribute to strengthening family life.

The difficulties in my country are many, as in all developing countries. Among our problems, those of the children and youth have priority. The National Development Plan undertakes the protection of children and youth until the age of 18, after which age they are legally adults. It also gives special attention to children from birth to the age of twelve, but always within the context of the family, whose welfare inevitably reflects on the child. The goal of the plan, during this International Year of the Child, is threefold: to help children and youth to participate actively, creatively and freely in the process of development; to offer more cultural, recreational and sport opportunities; and to encourage training systems that will give youth access to jobs.

The Institute of Youth, a subsidiary of the Ministry of Public Education, has been set up for the purpose of understanding and resolving problems of the young. Designation of priorities, and therefore of resources for the different programmes, is based on the needs and priorities of the majority of the young people, especially those from the rural areas.

As a result of the enthusiasm generated by IYC, a technical body for which I am responsible, has been created within the Ministry of Social Welfare. We are working on a preliminary project to formulate laws in the interest of minors, which will be presented to congress for legislation. The proposed laws attempt to protect children and youth, without overprotecting them, by assuring them their rights. A main point in our project is that we do not refer to 'delinquents' but rather to minors with behaviour problems. Furthermore, we emphasize that severe penalties should be given to adults who exploit minors. We have faith that this 'code of laws' will help us to protect the children and youth.

Preventive and re-education programmes will also be taken into account. We are already in the first phase of constructing a youth centre for the prevention of problem behaviour, in which there will be workshops geared to teaching these youngsters new skills that will reintegrate them into society.

Social Welfare Services, which were previously concentrated in the urban areas, have been extended to rural areas. The indigenous population of Guatemala, living mostly in the north-western rural regions, are being slowly integrated into the programmes of the new development plan, but their customs and traditions have hindered this integration. The first obstacle was the language barrier, since these people speak a

variety of dialects, but do not speak Spanish, which is usually the language of the community workers. This problem is being solved by training people from the rural communities to be teachers of Spanish as well as the local dialects, because they are accepted immediately by the villagers, who know them.

The second obstacle is the high rate of illiteracy among adults in these areas, who resist literacy programmes. For this reason, although we have not given up teaching on the adult level, we give more attention to the children and youth. Children are instructed first in their own dialect, and then in Spanish, the official language of Guatemala. This has been advantageous for them because those who receive this instruction speak fluent Spanish and because of that, they now feel on a par with the townspeople.

Programmes of studies for the rural areas are adapted to the needs of individual communities without substantially deviating from national programmes. For example, they do not always follow the time table used in the cities, but rather one which suits the individual community. In rural areas the boys help their fathers in the field and the girls help at home. As a result, parents have often discouraged the children from attending school. The solution was to adopt timetables which do not conflict with working hours. With this change, parents changed their attitudes, and sometimes even come to classes themselves in the evenings. Also, besides the official programme of studies, these children are taught practical skills such as carpentry, and are able to make desks and chairs used in the classroom. They also care for the garden or paint the school, often with help from the parents.

Children of ages 0-7 are cared for in daycare centres, nutritional or recuperation centres, etc. From 8-14 they are provided with various services such as lunch at school and vacation camps. Attention is also given to orphans and abandoned children until the age of 18. The adoption system is preferred for them or, if this is not possible, foster homes. Institutional homes would be the final resort. In the case of institutions, an effort is made to have them function together with regular schools in the neighbourhood, providing the children with a chance to meet with other children.

The physically and mentally handicapped children, until the age of fourteen, attend an institute where they have the assistance of specialised personnel. At the age of fifteen they go on to an official centre to learn trades that they can cope with, given their limitations. There are also many private institutions which give this kind of service. Unfortunately, we are not able to help everyone as we would like, the main reason being that parents are often ashamed of having mentally retarded children and hide them.

We have the ideas and the will to overcome our problems, but we do not have the financial resources. Unfortunately economic limitations are a basic problem and we must make do with what we have. We know that attention to our children and youth is fundamental since they will be our future citizens.

THE LAW OF ISRAEL AND THE CHILD

Doris Lankin

"Israel has a comprehensive set of laws dealing with the rights and benefits of children and youth under the age of 18, after which age they are no longer regarded as minors. But, as is probably the case in most countries, there is often a gap between provisions of law and the manner in which they are implemented. Also, laws which are intrinsically good and socially advanced can sometimes inadvertently work to the disadvantage of either the persons whom they are intended to benefit, or of other groups of persons. I wish to refer to both these phenomena in my survey of the law and the Israeli child.

Schooling

One of the very first laws enacted after the establishment of the State of Israel was the Compulsory Education Law, of 1949. This law originally provided for free, compulsory, elementary schooling on a universal basis, between the ages of five to thirteen. In 1969 compulsory schooling was extended to the age of 15, and recently, free schooling up to matriculation was instituted. Although school attendance till the age of 15 is compulsory in theory, and parents who fail to ensure the regular attendance of their children at school are liable to criminal penalties, truancy is a serious problem in Israel. The main reason for this is that there are not enough truancy officers and the whole system of combatting truancy is poorly and inadequately organised.

There has also been criticism by some experts of the fact that free education up to matriculation is being provided, whereas free preschool training in kindergartens and crèches for children under the age of 5, who cannot be left to their own devices while their parents are at work, would seem to be the more urgent priority. This problem of giving free cultural enrichment to the under-fives is a particularly acute one, in view of the great cultural disparity between the different communities that constitute the population of Israel, and the now well-established fact that the cultural gap must be closed at the very earliest age possible."

Mrs. Lankin noted that while the Compulsory Education Law stipulates the State's responsibility for special schooling for problematic and handicapped children, there is nonetheless a wide gap between the law and its implementation. Another adjunct to the Compulsory Education Law requires schools to give additional services, including regular medical and dental examinations, immunization, and health education.

The State Education Law provides for two trends in education - the State secular and State religious. The choice of trend is left to the parents, although they are required by the educational authorities to register their children in elementary schools designated to their neighbourhood. In many cases parents prefer a school other than the one designated, because it may be nearer to their home or it may be a better school. As a result, the system of restricting parents right to choose their children's school has often led to rebellion against the educational authorities, with parents from a whole neighbourhood keeping their children out of school in protest.

Labour

"Another law enacted in the early years of the State was the Youth Labour Law, prohibiting employment of children under the age of 15, and restricting the hours of labour of juveniles between the ages of 15 and 18. This prohibition expressly includes peddling (unless the economic situation of the child warrants granting him a special permit). The law permits children under the age of 15 to participate in artistic performances, but prohibits children under the age of 17 from being employed in hotels, cafés or dance halls, in places where the mentally sick are attended, or in any other place likely to affect, adversely, a child's physical, educational, mental or moral development.

The law also covers the hours of work of juveniles and days of annual leave. In addition, it states that if a juvenile attends evening classes at an approved school, he is entitled to leave work early on the days he goes to night school and his employer may not make any deducation from his wages.

Marriage Age

Yet another early law was the Marriage Age Law, of 1950, which was aimed at prohibiting the marriage of young girls to middle-aged men, a practice prevalent till then amongst some immigrant communities. This law makes 17 the marriage age for girls, but does not restrict boys from marrying at any age. The penalty for contravening it is two years' imprisonment, but a District Court may permit a girl of 16 to be married if special conditions exist, and it may permit any girl under the age of 17 to marry if she has borne a child to, or become pregnant by the man she wishes to marry.

The Marriage Age Law is one of those laws which strike at deep-rooted practices in some of the many communities in Israel. At least one of these communities has exploited the above loophole in an attempt to perpetuate child marriages, despite the criminal injunction against them. It is apparently their custom to marry off the daughters at 13 and 14, to boys a year or two older. In order to circumvent this Law, they allow prospective couples to live together out of wedlock until the

girl becomes pregnant. Then the parents apply to the Court for permission for the girl to marry the boy. Interestingly enough, the young couple continue to go to school even after the girl has become pregnant and the marriage celebrated.

Youth Law

One of the most important legislations dealing with the rights of children is the Youth (Care and Supervision) Law,1960, which deals with juveniles (non-delinquent) in need of care and supervision. Its main purpose is to enable the welfare authorities to intervene when a child is found to be in need of protection, either because no one is responsible for him, or because his parents are incapable of taking care of him and neglect him, or because his physical well-being is likely to be impaired by his environment. In such circumstances the welfare authorities take over the supervision of the child and may obtain a court order to place him in an institution or a foster home, or to appoint a friend for the minor to protect his interests and act as an advisor to his parents.

The decision as to what should be done with the child is made after hearing what his parents have to say, and also what the child himself has to say, if he is capable of understanding the situation and expressing an opinion.

Where a welfare officer believes that a child is in immediate danger or requires urgent medical or other treatment, he may take all necessary measures to obviate that danger and to provide the treatment, with the consent of the child's parents, and with the assistance of the police if necessary. But the child may not be kept away from his parents for more than a week without formal approval of a magistrates court.

Although the final arrangement for a child in need of care and protection is formally left to the courts, the welfare authorities play an important, if not decisive role, as the courts will naturally take their advice in most cases. This raises the question of whether we are not placing too much responsibility in the hands of professionals who might sometimes, in their zeal and even over-eagerness to further what they consider the good of the child, advocate removing children from their homes and parents when it is not really essential.

This philosophical question might also be posed when considering some of the aspects of the adoption of children. Courts may make adoption orders if satisfied that the adoption is in the interest of the adoptee and the welfare authorities would be the court's main source of information and guidance on this score.

Only children under the age of eighteen may be adopted and, in general, only by a married couple, although under special circumstances a court may authorise adoption by a single adopter. The adopter must be

at least eighteen years older than the adoptee (unless his spouse is the adoptee's parent) and must be of the same religion as the adoptee.

If the adoptee is old enough to have an opinion, the court will not make an adoption order unless it is satisfied that he or she accepts the adopter. The Law provides further that the court may not make an adoption order unless satisfied that the parents of the adoptee consent to the adoption, although it is not necessary that the parents know who the adopters are. But the courts can empower the welfare authorities to hand a child over for adoption against a parent's wishes if the parent has abandoned the child, or if the parent has constantly failed to fulfil his duty towards him.

Constant failure to filful one's duty towards a child is obviously not something which can be measured by fixed and immutable norms, and must depend to some considerable extent on the personal attitudes and opinion of the individual judge. Undoubtedly his opinion is influenced by the expert evaluation of the welfare officer, who thus virtually holds the power to decide whether a child should be forcibly taken away from its parents or not.

The Capacity and Guardianship Law declares parents to be the natural guardians of their children, but lays down categorically that guardianship includes responsibility for the child's needs and education, vocational and occupational training. Parents are also required to look after the property of their children and to manage it in the children's best interests. The Law forbids parents to dispose of such property without the approval of a court and disqualifies any act with respect to property between the minor and his parents or relatives which has not been first approved of by a court, save for the giving of a gift to the minor.

With regard to religion, the Capacity and Guardianship Law stipulates that up to the age of 10 the religion of a child may be changed only by consent of both parents, or by approval of the court upon the application of one parent. If the child is over 10 then he, too, must give his consent to a change of his religion.

The right of a child to maintenance is dealt with in several laws. But as most of the laws governing personal status are embodied in the religious laws of the respective communities, a child's claim for maintenance is usually decided in accordance with his religious law. Under Jewish religious law, a child is always entitled to be supported by his father whether he was born in wedlock or out of wedlock, and whether he is living with his father or with his divorced mother. There is, however, a reservation to this general injunction - a father is only required to provide his minor children with the basic necessities of life. When it comes to anything beyond these necessities, then the burden falls equally on both parents."

The courts have lately stipulated a specific monthly sum as a reasonable amount of maintenance for a father to pay for a child who lives with his divorced mother. Any needs which the child may have in excess of this sum must be provided for by the mother. Mrs. Lankin noted that this holds true, regardless of any agreement made by the mother and father which has not been confirmed by a court. She also referred to the Family (Maintenance) Law which requires a man, or woman, to support the spouse's minor children and even grandchildren or minor brothers or sisters, if they have no other means of support.

The speaker acknowledged that there may be difficulties in implementing this law. The mother, or the children themselves, often face the problem of extracting the maintenance from an obdurately uncooperative father. In such cases, the mother may apply to the Execution Office and the Chief Execution Officer may, at his discretion, cause the defaulting father to be imprisoned until he agrees to pay the maintenance - but not for more than 21 days, repeated each month in respect of that month's non-payment. But civil imprisonment is self-defeating. It provides the defaulter with the legitimate excuse that he cannot earn enough money to pay maintenance if he spends 21 days of each month in prison.

Israel's lawmakers therefore came up with a novel alternative of having the National Insurance Institution pay the monthly maintenance awarded by a court to the mother or her children, and then collect it from the defaulter. This law, known as the Maintenance (Assurance of Payment) Law, is being implemented in slow stages. At present the only women who derive any real practical benefit from it are those who are completely without means of support other than the maintenance awarded to them or their children.

The speaker briefly mentioned Inheritance Laws which assure a minor child's rights to maintenance from his dead parents' estate, and the Succession Law, if a man dies intestate, which entitles the wife to half of the estate and the children to the other half. 'Children' includes adopted children and children born out of wedlock. Mrs. Lankin remarked that, under Jewish Law, the only illegimate child is one born to a married woman where the father is not her husband. A child born out of wedlock is not illegitimate.

Concerning the custody of children, either the civil courts or the religious courts could have jurisdiction in such cases, depending on the circumstances. In both courts decisions are usually made to accord with the best interests and welfare of the children. However, the religious courts have different priorities than the secular courts. Both types of courts will generally consult the wishes of the child if he is of an age to express them, but would not always necessarily respect them if they found overwhelming reasons that would justify ignoring them.

Youth (Trial, Punishment and Modes of Treatment) Law - "If a minor is unfortunate enough to fall foul of the law - regrettably a not infrequent occurrence - this law provides, at least in theory, for measures aimed at alleviating the suffering and humiliation of criminal proceedings.

It states that minors may be tried only in a Juvenile Court and may not be brought to trial with adults, save with the consent of the Attorney General. This provision applies also to minors accused of offences against the security of the State, in accordance with a recent decision of the Supreme Court which held that minors may not be tried in Military Courts.

The trial of minors must be conducted in camera, although the court may permit the presence of their parents and other specified persons. If there are special reasons for it, a minor may even be tried in absentia to save him the agony of court appearances. At his trial he is entitled to be defended by the defence counsel and, if he does not have one, the court may appoint someone to defend him or the court will help him examine the witnesses.

Minors of 14 and over may not be kept under arrest for more than 24 hours without a court warrant, while those under 14 may not be kept for more than 12 hours. A court may remand a minor for a further ten days if it sees fit to do so; a good reason for detaining the minor would be the need to ensure his personal safety and to keep him away from undesirable company. When a minor is arrested, his parents or a probation officer must be informed of his arrest immediately.

A minor may not be brought to trial for an offence committed more than a year previously, save with the consent of the Attorney General. No private complaint may be filed against him if he is under 14.

A Juvenile Court will not find an accused minor 'guilty'. It will either acquit him or find that 'he has committed the offence' with which he was charged. In the latter event the court will first ask for a report from a probation officer and, on the basis of that report, will either convict and sentence the minor, or order special treatment for him, or decide to discharge him altogether.

In extreme circumstances, a convicted minor of more than 14 years of age will be sent to prison, but he may not be imprisoned with adults. In other circumstances, or if he is under 14, he will be sent to a closed home. Instead of convicting the minor the court may order him to be placed under probation, or committed to the care and supervision of a fit person other than his parent, or it may obtain an undertaking from the minor or his parents to be of good behaviour, or it may require the minor to report to a day-home for a prescribed period.

Any minor who has been in a home must be placed, after his release, under the supervision of an 'after-care officer' for the same period that he was confined to the home. The duties of the 'after-care' officer includes maintaining contact with his charge and keeping an eye on his studies, his work, and the way he spends his free time.

Unfortunately, this law discloses one of the glaring examples of the gap between legislation and implementation. Because of the acute shortage

of correction homes and separate prisons for minors, juvenile offenders are sometimes (in extreme circumstances) imprisoned together with older offenders, and, more often, they are simply allowed to go free, because the judges despair of finding any proper accommodation for them and are reluctant to send them to an ordinary prison which would probably condemn them to a future of habitual crime.

In general, the name of the minor who appears in court, for any reason, may not be published without the consent of the court.

In criminal cases involving offences against morality, the Law of Evidence Revision (Protection of Children), in order to spare children under the age of 14 the traumatic experience of having to give evidence in open court, introduces a striking departure from the usual principles of criminal law: it allows an under-14 child who has been witness to an offence against morality, to be examined out of court by a special youth interrogator. This evidence is then admissible in court, despite the fact that the child had not been subjected to cross examination by the accused's counsel. Fortunately, however, the law provides that a person cannot be convicted on the basis of such evidence in the absence of corroborating evidence.

The youth interrogator has the sole prerogative of deciding whether a child who has been a witness to a sexual offence, or is himself suspected of one, may be questioned in court. If he decides in the affirmative, the child's evidence may be taken in the presence only of the prosecutor, the accused, the accused's counsel, the youth interrogator and any other persons whom the court has expressly permitted to be present. Furthermore, even if a judge requires the youth interrogator to re-examine the child or to ask him a particular question, the youth interrogator may refuse to do so if he thinks that it is likely to harm the child.

Abortion

No survey of the law respecting the rights of the child can be complete without a reference to the Abortion Law. In Israel the performance of abortions is illegal in general (although the woman herself is not liable to prosecution), but the law does provide for certain exceptional cases where abortions may be obtained legally and without payment. These exceptions include pregnancy under the age of 17. The Law expressly precludes the necessity for the girl to obtain her parents' or guardian's consent to the abortion, leaving it entirely to her own discretion to make that decision, with the proviso that the Board which grants her permission to obtain an abortion is satisfied that the risks involved have been properly brought home to her.

Conclusion

In concluding this survey of Israel Law, I want to risk entering the lion's den by suggesting that we may be committing ourselves to what could become dangerous practice of subordinating the rights and the good of the child, and often more so of his parents, to the will and not-always-superior judgment of such professionals as the social welfare worker, the psychologists, the doctors and the teachers. Are we not running the risk of reducing the child and his parents to complete helplessness when confronted with the power and prestige of these professionals and the organisations behind them? Is this justifiable from the point of view of the human rights of the individual? Is it just to place so much authority and so much responsibility for the welfare of children in the hands of professionals unless there is some way of ensuring that they have the proper aptitude, and mainly, the proper attitude for wielding their powers for the real benefit of the child?

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THE WORKSHOPS

At the end of each discussion day, the participants met in four separate task-oriented workshop groups (three English-speaking and one Spanish) to re-examine and elaborate upon major issues raised at the plenary sessions. The reports presented to the plenum by the rapporteur of each group, concluded the delibrations.

The workshops were enriched by an intensified interchange of view points and experiences, illuminated by descriptions of situations and studies in the wide range of countries represented.

In the third and final work meetings the participants re-grouped for an overall analysis and integration both of general discussions and workshop reports, in the context of the following assigned categories:

- principles of policy and planning
- implementation of integrated policy
- mobilisation and use of resources
- enhancement of international cooperation

In the formulation of conclusions and recommendations, the participants strove to achieve a delicate balance between two essential criteria. They agreed that children must be viewed within the context of their culture and the communities in which they live, and that traditional patterns and habits cannot be underestimated. On the other hand, they realised that certain crucial problems cannot be solved without the impetus and sanction of national policy in bringing about change.

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GENERAL STATEMENT

approved by the plenum

We support the United Nation's declaration on children's rights, and stress its concommitant implications of bringing about justice and peace in the world.

We believe that children are the product of their culture, their ethnic origins, and their environment - yet their needs transcend all boundaries.

We reiterate that the child is a whole person. All aspects of the child's development and well-being are interrelated.

Problems may differ from one community to another, and each country should devise measures appropriate to its own situations, in attempting to resolve them.

Solutions should fit the constraints of the physical environment, social traditions, and of the existing human and material resources. However, inherent but unexploited resources must also be explored.

SUMMARY OF VIEWS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The following are the conclusions and recommendations that evolved from the continuous exchange of information and ideas during the seminar.

They were divided into four categories, each of which represents an essential stage in the process of creating better conditions for children.

A. The first section dealt with the principles of policy and planning - and the conditions most conducive to their development. Stress was placed primarily on the principle of integration.

B. The second was based on the premise that integrated policy and planning can be successfully implemented only in a responsive environment and an atmosphere of cooperation. Here, channels of communication were dealt with as the means for creating such an environment, since they form the 'bridge' between needs and plans, and between policy and actual programmes.

C. The third section consisted of a study of practical suggestions on the use and mobilisation of resources. Participants stressed that they did not intend to dictate legislation, but to offer feasible measures.

D. In the fourth, activities of international aid organisations were examined, and ways of enhancing international cooperation recommended.

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Integrated Policy and Planning

The principle of integration is basic to policy-making and to planning for the well-being of children and youth.

National Policy - We recommend that:

. Permanent National Commissions be established, activated and strengthened in each country, bringing together the various sectors and agencies of government, non-governmental bodies, community organisations, private sectors, voluntary groups and youth groups.

> The Commission's role will be to identify needs, indicate priorities, assess the needed and the available resources, and to coordinate efforts towards an integrated approach to children and youth.

. Governments ensure representation of all relevant ministries in the policy-making processes that concern the well-being of children.

. National policy incorporate the needs and interests of every section and level of the population.

. All relevant sectors or bodies be aware of, and involved in, implementation of national policy, and be cognisant of their specific roles in its realisation.

. The machinery for determining needs and priorities promote and utilise continuing research and constant input from the community.

Planning - We recommend that:

- All planning be integrated at every stage, and involve government agencies, policy makers, professionals, para-professionals, community workers and the community - its men and women; the community's input at every stage of planning will ensure that the reality of social change is taken into account.

- Each country develop models for integrated planning of services or projects, with a cognisance of the special needs and circumstances of its society. In this there should be stress on quality, as well as quantity.

- Services concerning children's health, education and welfare be viewed and planned in relation to each other, and to the environment.

- Planning encompass and integrate all the components involved in a particular service (for example health involves family planning, prenatal care, nutrition, etc.).

- Each specific programme be coordinated with other community services or programmes, and implemented through all the facilities of the community.

- Programme planning take into account differences between and within communities, such as: the urban and the rural; the economically deprived and the advantaged; ethnic, social, racial and religious factors; age and sex.

- Planning should also promote understanding, mutual respect and consideration between individuals, communities and the whole society.

II. Utilising Channels of Communication

The major channels and means of communication were enumerated and examined, on the assumption that they are the vital instruments through which the citizen can express his needs and priorities to policy-makers, and the ways by which new and constructive ideas, in addition to general information, can reach each individual.

The formal and informal channels which can be used effectively are:

1) Teachers, parents, community and religious leaders, and others engaged in human interaction at all levels as, for example, voluntary groups.
2) Mass media and other audio-visual materials, which include television, radio, films, newspapers, textbooks, magazines, and posters.
3) Special channels - such as literature, art, and films written and designed especially for children.

We recommend that:

- The media be used constructively to sensitise women and men to the basic needs of children, to promote their wholesome growth and to eliminate prejudice. People's consciousness must be raised, so that they become intelligent critics of ideas and information transmitted by advertisements or undiscriminating mass media.

- Informative materials disseminated by international, governmental and non-governmental organisations be also directed towards developing and implementing new and progressive policies, and towards influencing decision-makers.

- Channels of communication should be utilised to disseminate basic information, including knowledge of the legislation of one's own country and of other countries.

- Formal and informal programmes, and any other means suited to a particular environment and culture, be encouraged to serve as basic channels of communication between parents, between children, and between children and parents.

- In particular, efforts should be made to increase dialogue with the men about the importance of their participation and involvement in the education of children and their upbringing.

III. Human and Material Resources and Support Systems

Mobilisation and development of resources and support systems must be based on awareness of every stage and aspect of child development, focussing upon each of the following:

- family planning
- prenatal health and childbirth
- infant and toddler stages
- preschool care
- school children
- adolescence and youth

Family Planning - We recommend that:

- Family planning, which encompasses both the number and spacing of births, be viewed from a humanistic point of view, with sensitivity to each community's culture, needs, and values.

- Parents be guided to plan their families in the light of their children's well-being, and both traditional and innovative ways of family planning be explored and mobilised.

. Fiscal incentives be introduced, and governments be asked to adopt systems of benefits, allowances, and/or taxations to encourage the optimal family size.

. Mass media be used effectively for creating a responsive environment.

. The following resources and support systems be mobilised to assist in implementing family-planning:

  - Parents' unions could be formed to discuss and promote the birth of healthy children, and the means of decreasing infant mortality. Personal contact with the family is one way of dealing with cultural resistance.

  - Parents' education should be developed and broadened.

  - Para-professionals should be recruited and trained.

  - Community development agents, such as home economists and agricultural extension workers, should be involved.

  - Family life education should be integrated in the general school curricula from the early grades.

Prenatal Care and Childbirth - We recommend:

. Intensification of community-based, integrated action for health care and support systems in each district.

. Better education in nutrition and health for both mothers and fathers, by means of paramedical personnel, midwives and other local persons; community centres, clinics, and/or mobile health units.

. Education emphasizing the importance of breast-feeding, the proper use of local foods, and also including open discussion of taboos.

. Provision for hygienic delivery, and encouragement of mothers to use existing services.

. Adequate, paid maternity-leave for salaried working mothers.

. Provision of full information about available community services, and essential help for mothers who work within the family.

Governments should be urged to approach UNICEF, WHO, and other organisations to increase and coordinate their assistance in developing services and support systems.

Preschool Care - We recommend that:

. Preschool education and health care be made available, with priority given to disadvantaged families and children.

. Child-care facilities be established in neighbourhood centres with government encouragement, and/or by employers, for their workers.

. All persons involved in child-care be adequately trained.

Schooling - We recommend that:

. Legislation for free and compulsory elementary education be introduced and implemented in rural as well as urban areas, relevant to the local cultural and economic conditions.

. The education system strive to help children remain in school, and minimise truancy and dropout rates.

. The school calendars be flexible, curricula include vocational training in farming and/or trades, and places of employment be encouraged to provide work-experience programmes for schools.

. Schools provide health education, health care, and meals wherever needed.

. School premises be as accessible as possible after school hours for creative use of leisure, for programmes in vocational training of children and youth and for recreational activities.

. Schools encourage parents to become involved in their children's schooling.

Schooling of exceptional children - handicapped, retarded, and gifted - must take into account their special needs. We recommend that:

. Resources be mobilised to combat stereotyping of and prejudice against these children.

. School organisation and curricula be designed to meet their specific needs.

National and International Cooperation

In view of the leadership roles played by International Agencies, over the years, in initiating programmes and bolstering projects which also affect the well-being of children, attention was devoted to the interaction of these Agencies with recipient countries.

Participants noted that the appropriate term for help being given to developing countries is 'international cooperation' rather than 'technical assistance'. By 'international cooperation', they referred to programmes of International Aid Agencies, e.g. UNICEF, FAO, WHO, UNESCO, OMEP, etc.; to programmes of Regional Aid Agencies such as OAS and CEPAL; and multilateral and bi-lateral aid programmes offered by individual countries.

We recommend that:

- Aid Agencies consider the possibility of furthering horizontal regional cooperation (one country helping another) which utilises the experience of the developing nations themselves.

- International cooperation be seen as a support and response to the recipient country's priorities of development, with special consideration of needs of the disadvantaged sectors.

- International cooperation decrease the input of foreign technologies, wherever possible, in favour of the local ones.

- Cooperation be undertaken without ulterior interests, using qualified experts who will help, without 'imposing'.

- International cooperation become involved in programmes that are designed to solve basic problems, rather than to administer palliatives.

- Top-heavy bureaucracy be eliminated in order to avoid duplication, inefficiency in the use of resources, and competition between agencies.

- International cooperation utilise inter-disciplinary teams of both sexes, with an equitable distribution of nationalities. They must have a working knowledge of the language of the country they are serving.

- International agencies publicise their evaluation of their programmes, projects, and financial reports to the recipient governments.

Problems faced by individual countries in the framework of international cooperation are: lack of financial resources for planning and implementation of appropriate programmes; lack of trained manpower for the utilisation of appropriate technology.

We recommend that:

- Each country study its problems in an integral manner and coordinate its planning to prevent dispersion of resources.
- They increase their knowledge about donor-agency procedure; and strengthen the decision-making powers of their own national counterparts vis-a-vis the foreign experts.
- Make efforts to ensure that training received abroad by professionals is fully used on their return, for the benefit of their countries.
- More information about various existing international cooperation programmes reach the administrators and planners in the different sectors.
- Administrators and planners concerned with childrer and youth themselves take the initiative to enquire about the different types of international cooperation programmes available.
- International Agencies strengthen the non-governmental and governmental organisations in their programmes for children and youth in grassroots communities.
- International Agencies facilitate their application procedures for cooperation requests, and train national planners and administrators in the skills of formulating the projects proposals submitted to these agencies.

STUDY VISITS and EXCURSIONS

Study visits, coordinated throughout the Seminar programme, allowed participants to view projects and facilities for children and youth in the rural areas, development towns and the larger cities.

In the north of Israel, the group visited Kibbutz Yehiam, a collective rural settlement located in Western Galilee. A tour was made of the children's living quarters, the nursery and the kindergarten, with an explanation given by a Kibbutz member of their approach to communal living and policy on childrearing. At Moshav Ben Ami, a nearby cooperative settlement, participants visited a family farm and discussed with their hosts the structure and functioning of moshav life.

A visit was made to Maalot and Tarshiha, adjoining towns in which Arab and Jewish communities share one municipality. The group observed community services for children and toured kindergartens and day care centres. They met with the Director of the Family Health Centre (Ministry of Health) which serves as a regional centre for dispensaries in neighbouring villages.

In the development towns of Lod and Ramle, both located between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, participants were invited to attend meetings of local KEDMA projects and to tour kindergartens. KEDMA is the Hebrew abbreviation for Parent-Teacher Discussion groups which have been organised across the country by the Ministry of Education for parents and teachers of preschool children.

Tours of general interest were arranged to religious and historical sites in Galilee, Jerusalem, Haifa and the surrounding area. Also, in Jerusalem, participants visited the Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Israel National Museum, where they observed the special section for children and youth. In addition, optional visits were organised to youth clubs in Haifa.

S O C I A L E V E N T S

The participants were formally greeted by the co-organisers of the Seminar and friends of the Mount Carmel Centre, at the University of Haifa, on the Opening Evening.

The Haifa Municipality's welcome took place at a reception in a hall of the Maritime Museum, where the murals tracing the history of shipping and the replicas of ancient vessels offered a most unusual and interesting setting for such an event.

Throughout the period of the Seminar, interspersed among the working sessions, formal and informal gatherings were enjoyed by the participants, which included visits with Haifa families at their homes.

In Jerusalem they were received at the Presidential Residence by Mrs. Ofira Navon, wife of the President of Israel and Patroness of the national programme of activities for the International Year of the Child.

Formal luncheons in honour of the Seminar members were held on two occasions. As the guests of the Israel National Committee for UNICEF, they lunched at the Hebrew University's Belgium House where their hostess was Mrs. Zena Harman, the Chairman of the Committee. They were also guests of the Knesset (House of Parliament) for a luncheon, at which their hostess was Mrs. Ora Namir, Chairman of the Knesset Education Committee.

Ambassador Ben-Horin, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Israel Association for International Cooperation, addressed the group at a festive dinner given for them by the Association, in Jerusalem.

During the stay in the Capital, the participants were guests at special gatherings arranged by Diplomatic Representatives and various institutions. They also attended a folklore evening at the International Cultural Centre for Youth.

In Tel Aviv-Jaffa the group toured the Old City of Jaffa where they visited art galleries and crafts exhibitions. The fifteen SIE members were invited to the Soroptimist Club in Tel Aviv, as they had been in Haifa and Jerusalem.

The Seminar was concluded by a farewell diner at the Mount Carmel International Training Centre.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

A F R I C A

GHANA	
Gladys EKUBAN, Dr.	Teacher; lecturer, home economics, Dept. of Science Education, University of Cape Coast
KENYA	
Audrey D. OWINO	Social worker, national executive officer, Child Welfare Society of Kenya
Alice Beliah WANDERA	Teacher; community development officer; manager, industrial rehabilitation centre
NIGERIA	
Anne AKPOFURE	Assistant Chief Education Officer
SIERRA LEONE	
Joya COLE	Teacher, government technical school
SWAZILAND	
Nodumo Dora NXUMALO	Housewife; active in the Swaziland Society for the Handicapped

A S I A

INDIA	
Sindhu PHADKE, Dr.	Resident Programme Officer, UNICEF, East India Office, U.N. Civil Service
NEPAL	
Lakshmi THAPA	Teacher, SOS Children's Village
PHILIPPINES	
Sister Lydia KALAW	Social worker; religious director, Kaunlaran Multi-Purpose Centre
SINGAPORE	
Bee Wan TAN	Social worker; administration officer, Child Welfare Section, Singapore Council of Social Service
THAILAND	
Somchitt SRITANYARATANA	Assoc. Professor; principal, Demonstration School, Srinakarinvirot University

THE AMERICAS

BARBADOS	
Norma ROACH	Dep. Chief Welfare Officer; Chairman, national committee, IYC
BRAZIL	
Edilia COELHO GARCIA, Dr.	Headmistress, Colegio Brasileiro de Almeida; president, Council of Education, Rio de Janeiro
EL SALVADOR	
Tito Livio LOPEZ CORDOVA, Lic.	Dep. Director, Dept. of Education Media, Ministry of Education; president, National Committee of OMEP
COSTA RICA	
Teresita ALVAREZ QUEZADA, Lic.	Adviser on Preschool Education to the Minister of Education
GUATEMALA	
Ruth Chicas RENDON DE SOSA, Lic.	President, National Commission, IYC; secretary, Social Welfare Department, Presidency of the Republic
JAMAICA	
Valerie McNEILL	Special Adviser for Children's Affairs, Ministry of Social Security; director, government school feeding programme
MEXICO	
Elsa BIELER, Lic.	Lawyer; director, Academic Extension Division, National University of Mexico
PERU	
Camilo IBERICO ZUMAETA, Prof.	Senior Adviser to Dep. Minister of Education
PUERTO RICO	
Carmen DELGADO VOTAW	President, Inter-American Commission of Women (CIM), Washington, D.C.
U.S.A.	
Annette KEARNEY, Dr.	Psychologist; national programme director, National Council of Negro Women, N.Y. City and Washington, D.C.
Gerald HANDEL, Dr.	Professor of Sociology, The City College and Graduate School, City University of New York
Margaret VARMA, Dr.	Asst. Professor, early childhood education, Rutgers University, N.J.

AUSTRALASIA

AUSTRALIA

Geulah SOLOMON, Dr.	Lecturer, Social Foundations Education, Rusden State College, Melbourne

EUROPE and THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION

AUSTRIA

Gertrude KRESS, Dr.	High school teacher of German and history, Vienna

CYPRUS

Demetrios STYLIANOU	Primary Education Inspector, District Education Officer, Larnaca

DENMARK

Kirsten HØYBYE (HOLST)	Writer, radio producer (children's programmes), newspaper columnist

FINLAND

Anja VALTONEN	Kindergarten Principal, Clavinkatu, Savonlinna

FRANCE

Jacqueline CUZELIN GUERRET	Internat'l Civil Servant, UNESCO-Paris, Culture and Communication sector; in charge of UNESCO travelling exhibitions

PORTUGAL

Maria CEU FANGUEIRO, Lic.	In charge, Education Division for Preschool and Primary Education, Ministry of Social Affairs

GERMANY

Brigitte GILLES, Dr.	Psychologist; professor, Teacher Training College (Pedagogische Hochschule)

GREECE

Nina KOUMANAKOS	Lawyer, juvenile delinquency specialist

ICELAND

Sigrudur VALGEIRSDOTIR, Dr.	Professor, educational psychologist; head, Department of Education, Teachers College of Iceland

EUROPE and THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION (cont'd)

ITALY	
Margherita Fornara PEDRINI	Reader, linguistic high school; teacher in primary and special schools
ISRAEL	
Rahel ARDON	Regional Vocational Supervisor, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
Betty DRORI	Teacher, special education, Kibbutz Gaash
Fatina KHAZEN	Psychologist; teacher; active in the Acre Women's Association
Ellen Raya KATZ	Vice-principal, secondary schools (retired); counsellor to "Unit for Briding the Gap", Haifa University
THE NETHERLANDS	
Grietje WINKEL	Teacher, child care and education, former vice-principal, comprehensive school for vocational training
NORWAY	
Ase Marie EIDE	Social worker, Narvik Social Welfare Centre
SWEDEN	
May MATTSSON, Dr.	Teacher, senior high school, adult education
Ruth SELINUS	Public health nutritionist; advisor to developing countries
TURKEY	
Sema ULCAY	Psychologist; director, training for day care centres, Turkish Society for Protection of Children
Atalay YORUKOGLU, Dr.	Professor; child psychiatry; chief, child psychiatry unit, Hacettepe University

OBSERVERS

From Abroad

Margalit FLIEGELMANN	Newnham College, Cambridge, England
Sister Mary ROGACION	Director, early childhood education at the Kapit Bahay Community Centre, The Philippines
Delfina DUBON DE ARCHER	In charge of projects for working youth, Ministry of Labour, Mexico
Martha G. BELLOC DE BARRERA	Lawyer, D.I.F. (National Institute for Integrated Family Development); member, International Law Association, Mexico

From Israel

Tova BEN-DOV	Director, Education Department, Municipality of Haifa
Shimshon SHAFI	"Save the Children" Fund
Haya ZISHOLZ	EMUNAH - Religious Women's Organisation
Aliza GILAAD	Haifa Council of Social Community Services
Keren-Jah PADAN	NAAMAT - Council of Working Women's Organisations
Zila WEISS Ruth SHNEYOUR	) WIZO - Women's International Zionist) Organisation
Aliza OFER	Neve Shaanan Soroptimist Club
Ruth SEGAL	Carmel Soroptimist Club
Neora SHAFER	Haifa Soroptimist Club
Ada SALAMA	Department of Culture, Municipality of Haifa

GUEST LECTURERS and R[illegible]ERSONS

Zena HARMAN	Chairman, Israel National Committee for UNICEF
David HARMAN, Dr.	Lecturer, educational planning and administration, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Zalman GORDON	Lecturer, social worker
Nava ARLOSOROFF-POR	Lecturer, special education, University of Haifa
Shalom MANDELBAUM	In charge of pedagogical workshop, Kiryat Gat
Nehama NIR-YANIV, Dr.	Director, early childhood education, Ministry of Education
Avima LOMBARD, Dr.	Lecturer, and researcher, School of Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Doris LANKIN	Lawyer, journalist
Lynne JASIK, Dr.	Lecturer, School of Social Work, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Chairman, OMEP, Israel
Rahel LIPSKY	Nutritionist, Ministry of Education
Arturo BACH	Supervisor, youth programmes, Ministry of Education
Dov SHINAR, Dr.	Specialist, mass media; lecturer, Brookdale Institute of Gerontology

MCTC and Seminar Staff

Mina Ben-Zvi	Director
Fannette Modek	Assistant Director
Avraham Astarr	Administrator
Miriam Anatot	House Manager
Mazal Elimelekh	Seminar Secretary
Judith Avrunin	Editor
Sara Rosenberg	Assistant Editor

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The Role of Women in a Developing Society, 1961

Community Leaders, 1962

The Role of Voluntary Organisations in the Development of the Community, 1963

Social and Cultural Integration in Urban Areas, 1964

Eradication of Illiteracy among Women, 1966

Participation of Women in Social and Educational Development, 1968

The Contribution of Women to Development, 1970

The Changing Needs in the Education of Women, 1971 (symposium with former seminar participants to evaluate MCTC's decade of activities)

Mass Communication and Development - Activating Women in the Process of Social Change, 1973

Partnership of Men and Women in National Development, 1975

Voluntary Action in Development of Society, 1977